JONATHAN SWIFT

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN

With an Introduction by
HAROLD WILLIAMS

BASIL BLACKWELL · OXFORD
1964

The Commons began their Examination of this Report, with a Member of their own; Mr Robert Walpole, who during his being Secretary at War, had received five hundred Guineas, and taken a Note for five hundred Pounds more, on account of two Contracts for Forage of the Queen's Troops quartered in Scotland. He endeavored to excuse the first Contract; but had nothing to say about the second. The Fact appeared so plain and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the Author of it guilty of a high Breach of Trust, and notorious Corruption; committed him Prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the End of the Session; and expelled him the House. He was a Person much caressed by the Opposers of the Queen and Ministry, having been first drawn into their Party by his Indifference to any Principles; and afterwards kept steddy by the Lure of his Place. His bold forward Countenance, altogether a Stranger to that Infirmity which makes Men bashful, joyned to a Readyness at Speaking in Publick, hath justly entitled him among those of his Faction to be a Sort of Leader of the second Form; and must excuse me for being so particular about one who is otherwise altogether obscure.

Another Part of this Report, concerned such Convention were made, it was never Ratifyed; only the Parties agreed by common Consent to take each a certain Share of the Burthen upon themselves; which the late K. William communicated to the House of Commons by his Secretary of State, and which afterwards the other Two Powers, observing the mighty Zeal in our Ministry for prolonging the War, eluded as they pleased.

The Commissioners for Stating the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom had, in executing their Office the preceding Summer, Discovered several Practices relating to the Affairs of the Army, which they drew up into a Report, and delivered to the House, wherein the Duke of — and Marlborough had received large Summs of Money by way of Gratuity from those who were the Undertakers for providing the Army with Bread. This the Duke excused in a Letter to the Commissioners, from the like Practice of other Generals. But, that Excuse appeared to be of little Weight; and the mischievous Consequences of such a Corruption were visible enough; since the Money given by those Undertakers were but Bribes for Connivance at their indirect Dealings with the Army. And, as Frauds that begin at the Top, are apt to spread through all the Subordin

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THE use of the Windsor MS. for the text of this edition and for the illustrations has been granted by the gracious permission of H.M. the King. The draft of the *Character of Robert Harley* has been printed from the Longleat MS. with the kind permission of the Marquess of Bath.

The official Treaty Papers and Correspondence have been printed by permission of the Keeper of the Public Record Office.

To Sir Owen Morshead, the Librarian, Windsor Castle, I am much indebted for his help and kindness in facilitating the use of the manuscript in his care.

H. D.

The INTRODUCTION

MANY writings of a minor nature, whether in verse or prose, to which he never set his hand, have been attributed to Swift. The authenticity of one of his most ambitious works, on which he expended long labour and protracted pains, correcting and revising it for many years, has been called in question. As early as 1775 John Nichols found reason to write: 'The "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen" has been unaccountably decried; though a work of undoubted merit. It has even been supposed to be spurious; though almost every paragraph it contains is a sufficient voucher for its authenticity.' He adds: 'As far as it extends, it is indeed a masterly performance; and will be deemed a valuable acquisition to future Historians'.[1]

Dr. Johnson was among the first to record a doubt. In his *Life of Swift* he affirmed that he was not satisfied that the published work corresponded with the 'notions' he had formed of its character from a conversation that he 'once heard between the Earl of Orrery and old Mr. Lewis'.[2] In the nineteenth century doubts were emphatically renewed. The Earl of Stanhope found 'great reason to doubt' the authenticity of the work, and called in support Macaulay's 'strong conviction that it was not' by Swift.[3] Macaulay grew strident in his denigration. In a copy of Orrery's *Remarks on the Life of Swift* in the British Museum he has recorded his opinion of the *History* as 'Wretched stuff, & I firmly believe not S's'; and a pencilled note in his copy of Swift's *Works* (1801) dismisses it as a 'spurious' compilation which any 'literary hack' might easily have written. Sir Henry Craik and Temple Scott appeared for the defence, arguing the question, in the main,

[1] Nichols's early note was later prefixed to Vol. IV of his edition of the Dean's *Works* published in 1801.

[2] *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, iii. 28. Johnson referred to the fifth Earl of Orrery, Swift's biographer, and Erasmus Lewis. Birkbeck Hill's footnote is mistaken. See *Review of English Studies*, xxi. 56.

[3] *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, C. xiii.

from internal evidence. 'The positive evidence in favour of the authenticity', wrote Temple Scott, 'is so strong, that one wonders how there could have been any doubt as to whether Swift did or did not write the History.'[1] It would, however, have still been possible to make out some sort of a case against the published *History*. Not until 1935 was the question set at rest in a paper contributed by the present writer to *The Library*.[2] As I there stated, 'I am able, from manuscript and printed sources, to add to our knowledge of the circumstances relating to the publication of the *Four Last Years of the Queen*, and to settle all doubts as to its authenticity'.

It could never be questioned that Swift did write a work on the last Parliament of Queen Anne and the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Utrecht. It receives frequent mention in *The Journal to Stella* and in his correspondence, and an occasional reference is to be found in other writings. In August 1712 the work was in contemplation, and from September of that year to May 1713 he devoted himself to the compilation of a history of contemporary affairs and a defence of ministerial policy. Thereafter, writing to Stella, he often refers to the 'long work' on which he was engaged and the dilatoriness of Oxford and Bolingbroke in furnishing him with the necessary 'Papers' and 'materialls' with the use of which he hoped to produce 'something very notable'.[3] In January 1712–13 he wrote to William King, Archbishop of Dublin, giving him at some length a narrative of the peace negotiations, following his history in brief outline, and claiming to know 'every step of this treaty better, I think, than any man in England'.[4] Swift's assertion, at the time of writing, was not without justification, for he was in constant touch with Oxford and Bolingbroke and had access to official correspondence.

[1] *Life of Jonathan Swift*, Craik, 1882, Appendix III; *Prose Works*, ed. T. Scott, 1902, x. Introduction.

[2] Fourth Series, xvi. 61–90. I acknowledge gratefully permission to make full use of this paper.

[3] *Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold Williams, 1948, pp. 556, 561, 566, 569, 577, 578, 581, 589, 590, 598, 601, 604, 606, 629, 664, 669.

[4] *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. Elrington Ball, ii. 2–3. Subsequently cited as *Corr.*

From the first, during composition and later, the history upon which Swift had set his heart, consulting those from whom he could hope for assistance and information, searching through papers entrusted to him, brought nothing but delays and disappointments. Oxford and Bolingbroke, displaying little enthusiasm, were slow in their communications. In February 1712–13 he consulted Sir Thomas Hanmer[1] and placed the manuscript in his hands, where it remained for three months. On May 19 Hanmer returned the first three books with observations, retaining the fourth.[2] On April 23 Swift, who had just heard that the Deanery of St. Patrick's was his, wrote to Stella: 'I must finish the Book I am writing, before I can come over'. On May 16 he could write: 'I have just finished my Treatise & must be ten days correcting it'.[3] The end Swift had in view when composing his history was clearly stated in a letter he wrote to Erasmus Lewis many years later: 'You know, on the Queen's death, how the peace and all proceedings were universally condemned. This I knew would be done, and the chief cause of my writing was, not to let such a Queen and Ministry lie under such a load of infamy, or posterity be so ill informed.'[4]

Unfortunately for Swift the procrastination of his friends had delayed the completion of the history beyond the political occasion for which it was written. Just at this time the eighth and ninth articles of the Treaty of Commerce were exciting an outcry in the country and determined opposition in the Commons. On June 18 the House, by a narrow majority, refused to confirm the offending articles. On July 9 Swift wrote sorrowfully to his friend Charles Ford: 'I am tempted to think that if the tract . . . had been published at the time of the Peace, some ill Consequences might not have happened'. On the previous day he had written in similar terms to

[1] M.P. for Suffolk from 1708 to 1727. In 1714 he was for a brief period Speaker of the House of Commons.

[2] *Journal to Stella*, p. 629; *Corr.* ii. 30–1. Apparently Hanmer received only portions of the manuscript, or a second copy, for Swift continued revision while Hanmer was still considering it.

[3] *Journal to Stella*, pp. 664, 669.

[4] *Corr.* vi. 37.

Vanessa.[1] Save for occasional touches of revision the manuscript was laid aside. For years we meet with but few references to it.

In the early morning of Sunday, August 1, 1714, Queen Anne died; and, as Swift wrote, all the schemes of the Ministry were 'broke to shatters'.[2] He was writing from Letcombe Bassett, in Berkshire, whither he had retired. On the 16th he set out for Ireland, reaching Dublin on August 24. For over twenty years thereafter his History is but seldom mentioned. In 1722, however, he names the manuscript in a letter to Pope, and hints that occasionally he spends some time upon it.[3] A footnote to this letter by Warburton in his edition of Pope's *Works*, 1751, ix. 18, states that 'some years after' Swift brought the manuscript to England with the intention to publish. This statement receives confirmation in a letter[4] written by Bolingbroke to Lord Orrery in 1744 in which he describes how in 1727 'att Mr. Pope's, and before Mr. Pope' he advised Swift not to publish his History, on the ground that it was a party pamphlet. The probability that in 1727 Swift carried the manuscript over to England with a view to publication cannot be dismissed, for at this time his thoughts were busied with the History. During 1728 and the beginning of 1729 he spent about eight months with Sir Arthur and Lady Acheson at Market Hill, near Armagh, and on September 18, 1728, we find him writing to Sheridan asking him to open the 'escritoire in my closet' at the Deanery and to forward 'the History in folio, marble cover; and two thin folios fairly writ, . . . one an account of the proceedings of Lord Oxford's Ministry, and the other to the same purpose'.[5] This can only refer to the *Four Last Years of the Queen* and the smaller companion pieces, *Memoirs Relating to that Change in the Queen's Ministry* and *Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry*.[6] Probably Swift intended to employ his leisure in

[1] *Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith, p. 12. *Vanessa and her Correspondence with Jonathan Swift*, ed. A. Martin Freeman, p. 91.
[2] *Corr.* ii. 227. [3] *Corr.* iii. 114–5.
[4] Sold at Sotheby's, August 18, 1941; cf. also *Corr.* vi. 130.
[5] *Corr.* iv. 43–4.
[6] The two shorter pieces were first printed by Deane Swift in 1765.

the country in further revision; and also he may have wished to give his host and hostess the opportunity of reading the three manuscripts.

In 1736 a new stage in the fortunes of the manuscript was reached. Swift was then nearing the age of seventy; it was not far from a quarter of a century since he was engaged in the composition of his History. He could not hope for many years of life; the events he narrated were fading from memory; the actors on the stage were ageing or dead; his comments could, he thought, give no offence to contemporaries; and he reached a determination to publish. An opportunity offered upon the acquaintance he had formed with Dr. William King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, who had been in Dublin on the business of a law-suit he was prosecuting. King offered to negotiate publication of the History in London; but, as revision for the press was still incomplete, he departed without the manuscript. In the earlier part of the following year, 1737, Lord Orrery was preparing for a departure to England, and Swift besought his assistance: 'You are to carry a great load for me to England when you are going thither'.[1] On July 2 Swift, writing again to Orrery, says: 'I have corrected the enclosed . . . please deliver it, with your own hand, to Dr. King, at his chambers in the Temple'. On the original letter Orrery has noted: 'The Preface to the History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne'.[2] Presumably, therefore, Orrery had already received the corrected manuscript of the main body of the work. In the same letter, sickly and tired, in the belief that this was his last literary venture, Swift bade his lordship, 'farewell for ever'. On July 23, writing from London, Orrery reported that he had 'long ago' delivered the manuscript to King.

But again, to Swift's chagrin, the unfortunate manuscript

[1] Swift had in mind not only his History, but also the manuscripts of his *Polite Conversation* and of letters for Pope. The original of Orrery's letter, imperfectly printed by Ball, *Corr.* v. 432, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. For a corrected version of the letter see *Swift's Marriage to Stella*, Maxwell B. Gold, pp. 165–9.

[2] Gold, op. cit., p. 170 n[2]. The Preface was first printed by Deane Swift in 1765.

was shepherded away from the press. As early as April 1737 Lord Oxford, the son of Queen Anne's Lord Treasurer, having learned that the publication of the History was in contemplation, wrote to Swift begging him to delay 'until I have had an opportunity of seeing it'.[1] Swift's reply, after three months, affirmed his intention of publishing. Oxford begged deferment 'until you have had the advice of friends'; and Erasmus Lewis wrote to urge that 'objections' should be considered before the manuscript was put to press.[2] The months passed by and Swift heard nothing more; nor did he even receive an acknowledgment of the manuscript from King. In February 1738 he wrote to Orrery asking him to visit King 'and desire he would explain himself concerning his long silence'.[3] On March 2 King, who had meanwhile seen Orrery, wrote to Mrs. Whiteway, a cousin of the Dean, who tended him in his later years, to say that, under cover to her, he had acknowledged the manuscript on the day after he had received it, and that, as he was under some difficulties in respect of publication he had written again in December.[4] The postal authorities were accustomed to intercepting and examining letters passing between England and Ireland, and King naturally concluded that this was what had happened, especially as his well-known Jacobite leanings would make his letters suspect.

At this time Orrery, as appears from two letters written on March 26, 1738, seceded to the opposition, expressing doubts of the wisdom of publication. One letter was addressed to Faulkner, the printer to whom Swift seems to have proposed a Dublin edition of the History, the other to Mrs. Whiteway.[5] These letters were followed in a few days by a long communica-

[1] *Corr.* vi. 4. Oxford speaks in the same letter of having read the History. This must have been in the same year that Bolingbroke urged Swift not to publish. In 1727 Swift paid a visit to Oxford at Wimpole.

[2] *Corr.* vi. 20–2, 35–6, 40–1. [3] *Corr.* vi. 64.

[4] The original of this letter is in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. For the full text see *The Library*, Fourth Series, xvi. 69–70.

[5] For the text of these letters, of which transcripts are preserved among the Orrery Papers in the library of Harvard College, see *The Library*, Fourth Series, xvi. 71–2.

tion[1] from Erasmus Lewis, embodying the opinions of Lord Oxford and 'two or three more'. The chief matters called in question were Swift's account of the foundation of the South Sea Company, the accuracy of his narrative of the transactions with Buys, the Dutch envoy, his reflection on Marlborough's personal courage, his suggestion that Prince Eugene hinted the possibility of removing Harley by chance assassination, and his attribution of republican principles to 'the present ministers'. On the other hand his account of the negotiations leading to the Peace of Utrecht were commended as surpassing anything as yet written on the subject. This letter was endorsed by Swift: 'On some mistakes in the History of Four Last Years. *Mon ami prudent.*' Within a few weeks Oxford made it clear that the criticisms contained in Lewis's letter expressed his own sentiments.[2] Even King had his fears that publication of the History would be unwise.[3] It was further represented that in a history upon which he was engaged Bolingbroke would 'cut and slash Oxford'.[4] Perhaps it may have occurred to Swift that Bolingbroke would have less cause to attack the part played by Oxford in Queen Anne's last Parliament if he had no reason to combat a contrary view expressed by himself.

It will be noted that Swift's friends, whatever the objections they urged against the History, were all agreed that no better account of the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Utrecht had been written. Swift himself claimed that he sought and had been provided with official papers, and that he made full use of relevant documents. Treaty Papers and the official correspondence between Bolingbroke and the plenipotentiaries, available in the Public Record Office, are good evidence of Swift's reliability in the use of this material. For examples in proof the reader is referred to Appendix C.

In 1737 Swift, aged seventy, was a tired man, wanting in energy for an exacting revision. He was not indifferent to accuracy nor disdainful of criticism; but he lacked the vigour to rewrite large portions of the History; nor was he convinced that all the criticisms were justified. This was the one thing he

[1] *Corr.* vi. 77–80. [2] *Corr.* vi. 83. [3] *Corr.* vi. 73–4, 80–1. [4] *Corr.* vi. 41.

had written he could not get published. Once more, on the representation of his friends, he resigned the expectation of seeing his work in print, and probably with a determination to let the project rest for good.

About four years later, however, we reach further developments in the fortunes of the manuscript. The story may be read in a small pamphlet, *An Appeal to the Public*, issued in March 1758 by George Faulkner in Dublin. Rumours had reached him that a *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* was about to be published in London by Andrew Millar. Faulkner, who from 1735 onwards, when he began to publish the Dean's collected *Works*, regarded himself as Swift's authorized publisher, wrote to Millar to protest that he was transgressing his legal rights, and, at the same time, he put his case to the public in pamphlet form. Although Faulkner's pamphlet is an *ex parte* statement there is no reason to question its veracity on the main points. He supports his narrative with the text of letters from King and Millar, and by directions committed to writing by Swift's executors. His statements are substantiated by documents among the Orrery Papers.

We learn that in 1741 Swift commissioned Faulkner, who was proceeding to England, to retrieve the manuscript from King, furnishing him with a written order. When Faulkner reached Oxford in September he found that King was at Bath; and continuing his journey to London wrote to him thence. King replied on October 5 to say that the manuscript was locked up in his study in Oxford. He undertook to send it to the Dean, which could not be till Faulkner had left on his return to Ireland. Faulkner replied; and King wrote again from Bath on the 12th asking for Swift's order, which Faulkner sent him with a request that the manuscript should be lodged with Lord Orrery, for he could stay no longer in England. As it happened the two met in London on the evening before Faulkner's departure, and King promised to give the papers to Orrery. He duly kept his promise, 'and gave up the Manuscript to his Lordship, who had it some Years in his Custody, without its being called for'. By this time Swift's

powers were in decline; and nothing more was done in the matter.

In July 1749, nearly four years after Swift's death, Faulkner, who was again going to England, desired the Dean's executors and trustees for their commands. They gave him an order, signed by the Rev. John Lyon,[1] to receive the manuscript from Orrery. No good attended the luckless manuscript. Orrery was out of town; and Faulkner returned to Ireland without it. At last, however, in 1751, when once again in London, Faulkner obtained the manuscript from Orrery.

This part of Faulkner's story receives independent confirmation. Among the Orrery papers at Harvard is to be found a transcript of the minutes of a meeting of the Board of Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital, held March 29, 1751.[2] The Governors considered a memorial from Faulkner, who asked for 'the property of Doctor Swift's History of some part of Queen Ann's reign' for which he promised 'to pay the Treasurer of the Hospital the Sum of Two hundred pounds', and, further, a greater sum if he could procure it 'from any Bookseller in London for the said Book'. Thereupon a letter, dated April 3 and signed by John Lyon, was dispatched to Lord Orrery, together with a copy of the Board's resolution. Orrery, still in doubt, consulted Bolingbroke, who, though critical of Swift's work, advised the return of the manuscript. Thereupon Orrery asked Erasmus Lewis his 'real opinion, whether it is possible to delay the delivery of Doctor Swift's manuscript any longer?' In the end, considering that he had 'no right to it', Orrery surrendered the manuscript to Faulkner,[3] who, on his return to Ireland, handed it to the Archbishop of Dublin, who gave it into the keeping of Lord Chief Justice Singleton, also an executor, with whom it remained until 1758, when 'spurious' editions of the History were advertised for publication in London and Dublin.

Swift's executors and trustees, and Faulkner, were at a loss

[1] A minor canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Appointed guardian of Swift's person during his last years.

[2] MS. Eng. 218. 2, vol. v.

[3] The three letters to which reference is made were printed by the Countess of Cork and Orrery in *The Orrery Papers*, 1903, ii. 87–9.

to understand what transcript had reached London. Only three copies, according to the *Appeal*, were known to Faulkner. They were: (1) a fair copy, marked and corrected by Swift himself, which had been written out by Kendrick, the Dean's verger.[1] This was the copy entrusted to King and brought back to Dublin by Faulkner; (2) a copy which Swift had 'transcribed on purpose, and left in the hands of Mrs. *Whiteway*, . . . to compare it with the other one when printed'; (3) a transcript from (1) made by Faulkner in 1738 when it was in his possession for several months. Some other transcript had apparently reached London.

Faulkner was, therefore, authorized to write to Andrew Millar,[2] who was in course of printing the London edition, pointing out that he had no right to a copy, for which the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital would hold him accountable 'as they had as legal a Claim to it as any Goods or Chattels of the Dean'. This letter was dated March 4, 1758. Within ten days the Dublin booksellers, G. and A. Ewing, posted up an advertisement of the early publication of '*The* HISTORY *of the* FOUR LAST YEARS *of the* QUEEN. By the late JONATHAN SWIFT, D.S.P.D. . . . *London* Printed, Reprinted for *G.* and *A. Ewing* in *Dame-Street*, M,DCC,LVIII'. Faulkner expostulated with the Ewings, asserting his own claim to the work, to which 'Mr. *Ewing the Younger* had not the least regard', and finally went away 'disgusted' that any one should attempt to oppose them, for they had already printed some sheets from part of the London edition sent over by Millar. Nor did Faulkner get anything save fair words from other members of the Dublin book-trade whom he consulted. Mr. Exshaw promised to speak to Mr. Ewing the elder about it, but was conveniently prevented 'by an Indisposition', which confined him to his chambers. The only redeeming feature of this unhappy business was a gentlemanly reply from the good and eminent Mr. Millar, who wrote by return of post on

[1] The fact that this fair copy was made by the 'Verger of St. Patrick's' is confirmed by Lyon's letter of April 3, 1751, *Orrery Papers*, ii. 87–8.

[2] One of the most important of London booksellers and publishers during the eighteenth century.

March 14. He explained that he had been offered 'a Manuscript of Dean *Swift*'s four last Years of the Queen' in the previous autumn by a 'Gentleman of Rank and Integrity', but refused to purchase in the belief that the Dean's executors, or trustees, alone had the disposal rights. In January 1758 he met the same gentleman again, who assured him that he was mistaken 'in both Facts', for the Dean made no mention of manuscripts in his will.[1] In any event, 'he believed the Manuscript was destroyed, and never would be published, if his Friend now in *Ireland* had not preserved a Copy, the only one he believed extant'. Whereupon, and after consulting 'two Gentlemen of distinguished Understanding', he, Millar, came to an agreement with the owner of the manuscript on January 16. Meanwhile things had gone so far that the work was 'absolutely printed', and copies dispatched to the country. He offered, however, if the executors or trustees could make it appear that the manuscript had not been destroyed, and that the proceeds were intended for Swift's hospital, to pay a determined sum for his share of the property, and expressed the hope that the gentleman who had sold him the manuscript would do the like. He concluded with the wish to die an honest man and commit no act of which his mind could not approve—all very laudable, but of little satisfaction to the Dublin printer.

Faulkner's only resource was to issue a rival edition which he proceeded to announce as the ninth volume of the *Works*, and 'free from any Blunders and Incorrections that may be in the *English* Edition'. He ends his *Appeal* by reflecting bitterly on the Ewings for ignoring even a special message sent them by the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital desiring them to desist from printing, 'so little Respect did they shew to the Trustees who are persons of the highest Rank and Distinction in this Kingdom'.

The position now was that Millar had printed the first edition of the *History* in London, and this was reprinted in Dublin by the Ewings as the major part of a volume of the Dean's works. Faulkner followed this up by issuing his own edition under a different title, *The History of the Last Session*

[1] There is no specific mention of any manuscript piece in Swift's will.

of Queen Anne. Millar's professions of good faith in his rejoinder to Faulkner's protests hardly ring true, for, as earlier correspondence shows, he was ready to recognize the latter's trade claim to the *History*. Why then, when offered the manuscript in London, did he not communicate with Faulkner? Why, when printing the work, did he send over sheets to the Ewings? The only answer to these questions must be that he was anxious to keep Faulkner in ignorance of what he was about.

What manuscript did Millar use, and whence did he obtain it? Dr. Johnson, in his *Life*[1] of Swift, informs us that the editor was Dr. Lucas, and in the absence of disproof the statement may be accepted. Whether Johnson ever met Lucas or not we do not know, but we do know that he held him in esteem as 'the friend of his country'.[2] It may be that Johnson learned from Millar himself that Lucas procured the manuscript and edited the *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*.

In his 'Advertisement' Lucas tells us that 'the Dean entrusted a copy of his History' to 'a gentleman, now in Ireland, of the greatest probity and worth with whom the Dean long lived in perfect intimacy'. This sentence is curiously like that in Lyon's letter of April 3, 1751, addressed to Orrery and referred to above, in which he says it would be impossible to suppress publication of the work, 'the Author having deposited the Original with a friend to make it public in case it be not committed to the press, or be not printed exactly according to the Copy'. But Faulkner's reference was to the copy in Mrs. Whiteway's possession, which, as we shall see later, was still in Ireland in the hands of descendants of Mrs. Whiteway as late as the latter half of the nineteenth century. On the presumption that Lucas's Irish gentleman holding a copy of the History existed, who could he have been? Certainly not Faulkner, who was anxious to publish the History himself; nor Lord Chief Justice Singleton, who held the manuscript retrieved by

[1] *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, iii. 27–8.

[2] Charles Lucas (1713–71), who has been described as 'the Wilkes of Ireland', got himself into trouble with the authorities in 1749, was condemned to imprisonment and fled the country. For a number of years he practised medicine in London, returning to Dublin in 1761.

Faulkner from Orrery. Singleton would not have deceived his fellow executors.

Lucas's statements and the published *History* presuppose yet another manuscript. It could not have been Swift's original draft, for Lucas describes it as a copy with corrections and amendments in the author's hand. It seems doubtful, also, if the original was any longer extant. Between 1742 and 1744 Dr. John Lyon made a careful inventory of the Dean's books and papers.[1] His list of 'Mss: found in the Dean's Study' contains no mention of any history of the four last years of Queen Anne. It is inconceivable that he could have overlooked a manuscript so important.

Who was the gentleman 'now in Ireland' with whom Swift had 'long lived in perfect intimacy', to whom, further, the Dean had entrusted a copy of his History, desiring him to 'peruse and give his judgment of it'? Who was this friend whose 'probity' was not above keeping, 'most secretly' as Lucas tells us, a manuscript upon which the author asked for an opinion and no more, and, worse still, with the ulterior intention of publishing if 'the Dean's executors, or those into whose hands the original copy fell' failed to see to its publication? Why is he oddly described as 'now in Ireland' when the rest of Lucas's story presupposes some one ordinarily resident in Ireland? Would a gentleman of 'probity', who could easily have consulted Swift's executors, as his responsible friends, conceal his name and secretly hand over the manuscript he held to the editorial mercies of a person like Lucas, a man who could not risk a return to Dublin till he received the protection of a *nolle prosequi* in 1761. The story fails to ring true. These are the protestations of an unauthorized editor. It is impossible, on the evidence available, to detect the source from which Lucas obtained his copy; but on comparison with the only extant manuscript traceable we know that it was a good manuscript carrying the author's last revision.

In the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, is preserved a folio, fair copy of the *Four Last Years of the Queen*, carefully written by an amanuensis, and not less carefully corrected and revised

[1] See Harold Williams's *Dean Swift's Library*, pp. 25–35.

by Swift himself. This manuscript settles all doubt as to the authenticity of the work, and justifies the editions of 1758. Both the London and Dublin editions embody the author's last corrections. But neither the manuscript, nor the published work, embodies the suggestions proffered by Erasmus Lewis on behalf of Swift's English friends.

The Windsor manuscript consists of 137 folio leaves (33 × 21 cm.), or 273 written pages, the text occupying the right-hand half only of each page, leaving the other half blank for additions and corrections. There are 30 to 34 lines to each page. Throughout, in margin and in text, there are numerous corrections in Swift's own hand, becoming, however, less frequent as the work progresses. There are fewer towards the end of Book III; and few in Book IV.

At the head of the first page, to the left, Swift has written:

Written at Windsor
in the Year 1713.

He first wrote '1714', scrawled this out, and wrote '1713' beyond.

Many of the corrections are directed to toning down over-dogmatic expressions of opinion, or excessive praise or condemnation of persons named. One lengthy passage in point, extending from page 38 to page 40 of the manuscript, finds no place in either the London or the Dublin edition. This passage is marked for deletion by three successive crosses in the marginal blank spaces, but the passage itself is not struck through. There is, further, one correction in the margin in Swift's hand. Whether Swift himself had finally decided to omit the passage or not is, perhaps, open to question, although its attack on the Whig complexion and partisanship of the House of Lords might well be considered dangerous. Without doubt it illustrates Swift's own attitude and opinion; and in this volume, therefore, the passage has been restored to its proper place. See pp. 19–20.

It has not been possible to trace the history of the Windsor manuscript for more than a few years back. It was enclosed in its present binding of brown morocco by Messrs. Rivière

& Son, and delivered to Messrs. J. Pearson & Co., Pall Mall Place, London, on May 11, 1898. The latter have no records to show whence the manuscript came to them. It was, presumably, purchased from Messrs. Pearson & Co. for Queen Victoria by Sir Charles Holmes, then librarian at Windsor Castle. Unfortunately there are no records in the Royal Library which furnish any clue to the provenance of the manuscript, or as to how it came there. Sale catalogues have been searched without success. It is now of interest to ask whether, in the first instance, the Windsor manuscript can be identified with one of those already accounted for, and whether, secondly, there were other manuscripts in circulation. We have seen that Swift prepared two authoritative copies, one intended for the printer and later brought back to Dublin, and one which he left in the hands of Mrs. Whiteway. Furthermore, Faulkner claimed to have made a transcript in 1738 from the copy which was sent to England and later recovered. Faulkner was either mistaken in the copy he handled in 1738, or his memory played him false. That copy, as we have seen, was carried over to England by Orrery in July 1737. Faulkner wrote his *Appeal to the Public* in haste twenty years after 1738, and may have made a mistake in the year. If, as he asserts, he was first employed in negotiations with London, and only retired when King assured the Dean he could 'raise him a sum of some thousand Pounds by a voluntary Subscription in *England*, to endow his intended Hospital for Idiots and Lunatics' upon the credit of the manuscript, then he probably made his transcript in 1736, when Swift began busying himself again with the thought of publication. The earlier part of 1736 is the only time Faulkner is likely to have had in his possession 'for many Months' the manuscript designed for the printer in England. If he made his transcript in 1738, then it was from another copy. It is, of course, possible that he never made a transcript, or that the transcript was not complete.

These possibilities, and, further, the likelihood that there were more manuscripts of the History in circulation than were known to Faulkner receive a measure of confirmatory evidence in support from *An Attempt to Answer Mr. George Faulkner's*

Extraordinary Appeal to the Public[1] published by the Ewings. In this pamphlet they maintained that Faulkner did not possess the complete transcript he claimed to have made. They asserted that he had been able to produce for inspection 'a few pages only, about a Fortieth part of the work', whereas they could show a complete manuscript. They insinuated, further, that they knew of other copies than those mentioned by Faulkner: 'For tho' Mr. *Faulkner* pretends to be critically exact in this thing, He would stare probably, *or perhaps blush* if the Publishers could show, that the Dean gave copies of this Work (this bone of Contention) to others, and that, without consulting *Faulkner*. Probably these Copies were given with a view that some one, from a respect to his Memory, or regard to the Public, might sooner or later bring them to light.' The impression the Ewings sought to convey was that their reprint of the London edition rested on the authority of a manuscript unknown to Faulkner, which Swift had taken the precaution of placing in safer hands than his to make sure of its publication, even though his friends and executors should continue to withhold it as long as they could.

One additional contemporary witness to a manuscript of the History remains to be called. Among the manuscript collections of Dr. Thomas Birch, preserved in the British Museum, is an abstract of the History in Birch's handwriting.[2] It is headed.

> June 30, 1742.
> From ye manuscript of Dr. Swift's History of the last Parliament of Queen Anne: written at Windsor in 1713.

The abstract gives summaries of the characterizations of prominent persons of the day appearing in Book I, and a very brief précis of the whole work. It was printed by Craik in his *Life of Swift* as part of Appendix III, in which he argues for the authenticity of the History. Craik urges that the terms of the heading to the abstract imply that Birch used a 'manu-

[1] Issued on the day on which they published their edition of the *Four Last Years of the Queen*.

[2] Add. MS. 4253 (54).

script written by Swift himself', and not a copy. The inference is certainly unnecessary; and all the evidence goes to show that at this time Swift's original was probably no longer in existence. In any event it was hardly likely to have been in England, where alone Birch could have examined it. Furthermore, we know that in 1742, when Birch made his abstract, the fair copy sent over to England was, as Faulkner tells us, in Lord Orrery's keeping, and he may very well have shown it to the curious and inquisitive Birch.

We may reasonably suppose that Birch took the words 'written at Windsor in 1713' from the manuscript itself. This statement, as we have seen, appears at the beginning of the fair copy now at Windsor. There would, however, be little justification in arguing from this small point that Birch had before him the Windsor manuscript, or that the Windsor manuscript is that which Orrery carried over to King, finally revised by Swift himself for the press. The probability is that other copies carried the same heading.

Faulkner tells us in his *Appeal* that Swift gave a manuscript copy to Mrs. Whiteway to enable her to check any edition of his work which might be published. This copy was seen in Dublin and collated by Percy Fitzgerald[1] as late as 1857–8. Fitzgerald was at this time in communication with John Forster. He sent Forster word of his find, October 26 [1857], described the manuscript, and furnished him with a slovenly collation. The various papers are now preserved in the Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.[2]

Fitzgerald tells us how, at Kingstown, he 'stumbled upon two old Ladies of the name of Greene', who were granddaughters of Mrs. Whiteway and grand-nieces of Swift.[3] Among other treasures they showed him '*a thick MSS Volume*'. He continues: 'You may guess how I looked when I read on

[1] Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, 1834–1925, barrister, writer, sculptor, painter, and musician.

[2] Pressmark, 589.

[3] Fitzgerald was at fault in his statement of the relationship. The Misses Greene were great-granddaughters of Mrs. Whiteway, who, as a daughter of Adam Swift, was first cousin to the Dean of St. Patrick's.

the Flyleaf in the clear writing of the Dean "that a copy of this work had been sent to England to be printed, by the hands of my Lord Orrery" or words to that effect. I was a little damped when I found by the first Page to be the History of the 4 years of Queen Anne in a foreign hand—but *still with abundant corrections* & interlineations—all the original *expunged* phrases & words *being quite legible*—This you will I think say is curious, & worth exploring.'

Later Fitzgerald sent Forster further details. The manuscript bore on the title the following details:

> This is the originall Manuscript
> of the History, corrected by
> me, and given into thee
> custody of Mrs Martha
> Whiteway by me
> Jonathan Swift—June
> 15. 1737. seven
>
> I send a fair copy of
> this History by the Earl
> of Orrery to be printed
> in England—Jonath: Swift.

These details confirm the accuracy of the story recounted by Faulkner's *Appeal to the Public*; and Fitzgerald's description, coupled with his collation, if such it can be called, makes it certain that the manuscript he saw was not that now at Windsor, but, as it professed to be, the manuscript committed by Swift to the care of Mrs. Whiteway. The manuscript seen by Fitzgerald came from Mrs. Whiteway, and remained with her descendants. There are, further, definite differences between the manuscript handled by Fitzgerald and that now at Windsor. The latter could not very appropriately be described as a 'thick' volume. It has no title-page, and no inscription corresponding to that copied by Fitzgerald. It has, however, as we have seen, a statement of the time and place of writing. This Fitzgerald does not mention. Fitzgerald's untidy attempt at a collation is by no means easy to follow. It shows, however, with

sufficient clearness, that the manuscript he was examining contained substantially the same corrections and excisions as the Windsor copy. There are, apparently, a few minor variants, sufficient to leave hardly a doubt that the Whiteway manuscript and that entrusted to King showed slight and insignificant differences.

When, in 1902, Temple Scott was preparing his edition of *The Four Last Years of the Queen* he made use of Fitzgerald's collation. Fitzgerald, who was then alive, stated that, after forty-five years, he had no recollection of collating the manuscript. Difficult, however, as it is to believe that it can have been lost or destroyed, searching inquiries made in Dublin and elsewhere, in the hope of learning what happened to the Misses Greene and their belongings, have met with no success.[1] It is surprising that Forster, who seized upon everything relating to Swift that money could buy, and accumulated volumes and box-loads of notes and cuttings, neither acquired this important manuscript, nor, as far as can be discovered, kept an eye upon its movements.

We can now return to the Windsor manuscript and ask whether it is possible to identify it. A collation against Millar's edition of the *History* reveals a correspondence extraordinarily close. There are few corrections made by Swift, however slight, which the printed text does not follow. It is natural at first to suppose that this was the manuscript used by Lucas and Millar, when putting the work to press, the manuscript which puzzled Faulkner, who believed that he was aware of all existing copies. This supposition is fortified by the fact that the manuscript is in England, whereas the other copies, so far as we can presume anything of them, ought to have turned up in Ireland, or be traceable to Ireland. Further collation, however, as the textual notes to this volume show, makes it extremely doubtful that the Windsor manuscript was used for either Millar's or Faulkner's edition.

[1] Representatives of the Swift family, who have been consulted, were unaware that Miss Lucy Greene, who died in Dublin towards the end of the last century, ever had in her possession so important a manuscript. The late Mr. M. J. Ryan was most helpful in making inquiries on my behalf, but without success. The writer is also indebted to Mrs. Arundell Esdaile.

In the end, and until further evidence crops up, it is not possible to identify the Windsor manuscript with certainty. The uncertainty is increased by the fact that there were, in all probability, more manuscripts of Swift's History in circulation than even those intimate with him suspected. In any event Millar's edition was printed from a fully revised copy, and one, it can hardly be doubted, corrected in Swift's own hand. Lucas claims as much, and probably with justification.

Primarily the manuscript in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle resolves a doubt of long standing. The authenticity of the work can no longer be questioned. It was written by Swift; and, further, it is now published in the form in which he had prepared it for the press.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

By the late

JONATHAN SWIFT,
D. D. D. S. P. D.

Publiſhed from the

Laſt MANUSCRIPT COPY, Corrected and Enlarged by the Author's OWN HAND.

LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand:
MDCCLVIII.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LAST SESSION of PARLIAMENT, and of the PEACE of UTRECHT.

Written at WINDSOR in the Year, 1713.

By the Rev. Dr. J. SWIFT, D. S. P. D.

DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Eſſex-Street,

M,DCC,LVIII.

PREFACE

HAVING written the following History at *Windsor*, in the happy reign of her Majesty Queen *Anne*, of ever glorious, blessed and immortal memory; I resolved to publish it, for the satisfaction of my fellow-subjects, in the year 1713; but, being under a necessity of going to *Ireland*, to take possession of the Deanery of St. *Patrick*'s, *Dublin*, I left the original with the ministers; and having staid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found, at my return, that my Lord Treasurer *Oxford*, and the Secretary my Lord *Bolingbroke*, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it, without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her Majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

I HAVE ever since preserved the original very safely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the *German* Family's succeeding to the crown; which, indeed, was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an undisputed parliament, brought into the House of Commons by Mr. *Harley*, who was then speaker.

BUT, as I have said in another discourse, it was very well understood some years before her Majesty's death, how the new King would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust; and consequently what reports would industriously be raised, as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her Majesty herself, as well as of her servants; who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

THEREFORE, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her Majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than those miserable

pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the same time, I freely confess, it appeared necessary, as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the succession, and resolved to act in every part by a direct contrary system of politics, should load their predecessors with as much infamy as the most inveterate malice and envy could suggest, or the most stupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could swallow.

THEREFORE, as I pretend to write with the utmost impartiality, the following History of the four last years of her Majesty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced persons at present, as well as posterity; I am persuaded in my own mind, as likewise by the advice of my oldest and wisest friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man by endeavouring to set future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful historian, I cannot suffer falsehoods to run on any longer, not only against all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even against those happy events, which owe their success to the very measures then fixed in the general peace.

THE materials for this History, besides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years, by the chief persons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers as well as instructions sent to them by our Secretaries of state, or by the first minister the Earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home. Further, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed, and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I WAS so far from having any obligations to the crown, that, on the contrary, her Majesty issued a proclamation, offering 300l. to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise*, which the Queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister,

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often indeed dined with the Treasurer and Secretary; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the Lord Treasurer; because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

I SAY this to shew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. *Addison* and Mr. *Congreve*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the Treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and, by his Lordship's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. *Steele* might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I KNOW very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those, who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age, yet I hope to be so in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of *England*, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

I HAVE no interest or inclination to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy understandings among a few of those who then presided in affairs.

NOTHING is more common than the virulence of superficial and ill-informed writers, against the conduct of those who are now called Prime Ministers: And, since factions appear at present to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not so equally poised; it may probably concern those who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be less warm against others who humbly differ from them in some state-opinions. Old persons remember, at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first Earl of

Clarendon, whose character, as it now stands, might be a pattern for all ministers; although even Bishop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are so little esteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

UPON that irreparable breach between the Treasurer and Secretary *Bolingbroke*, after my utmost endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them; I retired to a friend in *Berkshire*, where I staid until her Majesty's death; and then immediately returned to my station in *Dublin*, where I continued about twelve years, without once seeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing nor adding, further than by correcting the style: And, if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I SHALL not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the least inconsistence with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a Princess as her late Majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor; whose hereditary title was confirmed by the Queen and both houses of parliament, with the greatest unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interests of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* king, or the *Hollanders*, more strictly than the Queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew, that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.

L [ib.] 1. *

I PROPOSE to give the Publick an Account of the most important Affairs at Home, during the last Session of Parliament; as well as of our Negociations of Peace Abroad not only during that Period, but some time before, and since. I shall relate the Chief Matters transacted by both Houses in that Session; and discover the Designs carryed on by the Heads of a discontented Party Faction, not only against the Ministry, but in some manner against the Crown itself. I likewise shall State the Debts of the Nation; shew by what Mismanagement, and to serve what Purposes they were at first Contracted; by what Negligence or Corruption they have so prodigiously grown; and what Methods have since been taken to provide, not only for their Payment, but to prevent the like Mischief for the time to come. Although in an Age like ours I can expect very few impartial Readers; yet I shall strictly follow Truth, or what reasonably appeared to me to be such, after the most impartial Inquiries I could make, and the best Opportunityes of being informed by those who were the principal Actors or Advisers. Neither shall I mingle Panegyrick or Satire with an History intended to inform Posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present Age,

* The Windsor MS. has no title, simply *L 1* at the top of the first page, and in the left hand column which is left blank for notes or additions Swift has added in his own hand:

Written at Windsor in the Year 1713.

I have adopted the title of the London edition, though it is inaccurate because the whole book was completed more than a year before the death of the Queen and nothing was added concerning the events of the last year of her reign. Nevertheless Swift himself referred to it under this title in his letter to the Earl of Oxford, dated June 14, 1737:

"the History you mention, of the Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign, was written at Windsor, just upon finishing the Peace";

and in this sentence he not only gives the title but seems to accept it, while recognizing its inaccuracy. He uses it again in the Preface to this work, which was written at a later time, and first published separately in 1765 by Hawkesworth (VIII, 25–29) and by Faulkner (XII, 37–43).

who may be Ignorant or Misled: Since Facts truly related are the best Applauses, or most lasting Reproaches.

DISCOURSES upon Subjects relating to the Publick usually seem to be calculated only for *London*, and some few Miles about it; while the Authors suppose their Readers to be informed of several Particulars, to which, those who live remote, are for the Generality utter Strangers. Most People, who frequent this Town, acquire a sort of Smattering (such as it is) which qualifies them for reading a Pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by Innuendo's or Hints at Facts or Persons, or initial Letters of Names; wherein Gentlemen at distance, although perhaps of much better Understandings, are wholly in the dark: Wherefore, that these Memoirs may be rendred more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the Reader a short View of the State and Disposition of Affairs, when the last Session of Parliament began: And because the Partyleaders who had lost their Power and Places, were upon that Juncture employing all their Engines in an attempt to re-establish themselves; I shall venture one Step further, and represent so much of their Characters, as may be supposed to have influenced their Politicks.

ON the Seventh Day of *December* 1711 began the Second Session of this Parliament. It was now above a Year, since the Queen had thought fit to put the great Offices of State, and of Her own Household, into other Hands. However, Three of the discontented Lords were still in possession of their Places: For, the Duke of *Marlborough* continued General, the Duke of *Sommerset* Master of the Horse, and the Earl of *Cholmondely* Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household: Likewise great Numbers of the same Party still kept Employments of Value and Importance; which had not been usual of late Years upon any Changes of a Ministry. The Queen, who judged the Temper of her People by this House of Commons, which a Landed Interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a Secure and Honorable Peace; and disposed to leave the Managem[en]t of it to her own Wisdom, and that of her Council. She had therefore, several Months before the Session began, sent to inform the States General of some

Overtures which had been made to Her by the Enemy; and during that Summer, Her Majesty took several farther Steps in this great Affair, untill at length, after many Difficulties, a Congress for a General Treaty at *Utrecht* was agreed upon: The whole Proceedings of which previous Negociation between our Court and that of *France*, I shall in its proper Place very particularly relate.

THE Nation was already upon a better foot with respect to its Debts: For, the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord Treasurer, had in the preceding Session proposed and effected Ways and Means in the House of Commons (where He was then a Member) for providing a Parliamentary Fund to clear the heavy Arrear of Ten Millions, (whereof the greatest Part lay upon the Navy) without any new Burthen (at least after a very few years) to the Kingdom: And, at the same time He took care to prevent farther Incumbrances upon that Article, by finding ready Money for Naval Provisions; which hath saved the Publick somewhat more than *Cent. per Cent.* in that mighty Branch of our Expence.

THE Clergy were altogether in the Interests and the Measures of the present Ministry, which h[ad] appeared so boldly in their Def[ence] during a Prosecution against One [of] their Members, where the [whole] sacred Order was understood to be concerned. [ ] The Zeal shewn [for] that most religious Bill, To [settle] a Fund for Building Fifty Churches in and about the City of *London*, was a fresh Obligation: And they were farther highly gratifyed by Her Majesty's chusing * One of their Body to be a great Officer of State.

BY this time likewise all Disputes about those Principles, which used Originally to divide Wh[ig] and Tory, were wholly dropped, and those Fantastick Words ought in justice to have been so too; Provided we could have found out more convenient Names, whereby to distinguish Lovers of Peace from Lovers of War; or those who would leave Her Majesty some degree of Freedom in the Choice of her Ministers, from others who could not be satisfied with Her chusing any, except such as She was most averse from.

* Dr. *Robinson*, Ld. Bishop of *Bristol*, to be Lord Privy Seal.

BUT, where a Nation is once divided, Interest and Animosity will keep open the Breach, without being supported by any other Principles; Or, at worst, a Body of discontented People can change, and take up what Principles they please.

AS to the Disposition of the opposite Party, at this Juncture; We all remember, That the Removal of the last Ministry was brought about by several Degrees; through which means it happened, That they and their Friends were hardly recovered out of One Astonishment, before they fell into Another. This Scene lasted for some Months; and was followed by a Period of Rage and Despair natural to those who reflect, That they have lost a Secure Game by their own Rashness, Folly, and want of Common Management: when at the same time they knew by Experience, That a watchful and dexterous Adversary lay ready to take the Advantage. However, some time before the Session, the Heads of that Party began to recollect themselves, and rally their Forces; like an Enemy who hath been beaten out of the Field, but finds he is not pursued. For, although the Chiefs of this Faction were thought to have but little Esteem or Friendship for each other; yet they perfectly agreed in One General End, of distressing by all possible Methods the New Administration; wherein if they could succeed so far as to put the Queen under any great Necessity, another Parliament must be called, and perhaps the Power devolve again into their own Hands.

THE Issue and Event of that grand Confederacy appearing in both Houses, although under a different Form, upon the very first Day the Parliament met; I cannot better begin the Relation of Affairs commencing from that Period, than by a thorow Detection of the whole Intrigue, carryed on with the greatest Privacy, and Application; which must be acknowledged to have for some days very much disconcerted the Ministry, as well as dispirited their Friends; and the Consequences whereof have in reality been so very pernicious to the Kingdom.

BUT, because the Principal Leaders in this Design are the same Persons to whom, since the Loss of their Power, all the Opposition hath been owing, which the Court received either

in Treaties abroad, or the Administration at Home; It may not be improper to describe those Qualities in Each of them, which few of their Admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several Parts upon the publick Stage: For, I do not pretend to draw their Characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose; but shall only single out those Passions, Acquirements and Habits, which the Owners were most likely to transferr into their Political Schemes; and which were most subservient to the Designs they seemed to have in View.

THE Lord *Sommers* may very deservedly be reputed the Head and Oracle of that Party: He hath raised himself by the Concurrence of many Circumstances to the greatest Employments of the State, without the least Support from Birth or Fortune: He hath constantly, and with great Steadiness cultivated those Principles under which he grew. That Accident which first produced him into the World, of pleading for the Bishops whom King *James* had sent to the Tower, might have proved a Piece of Merit as honourable, as it was fortunate: But, the old Republican Spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other Lessons: That, since we had accepted a new King from a Calvinistical Commonwealth, we must likewise admitt new Maxims in Religion and Government: But, since the Nobility and Gentry would probably adhere to the Established Church, and to the Rights of Monarchy as delivered down from their Ancestors; it was the Practice of these Politicians to introduce such Men, as were perfectly indifferent to any or no Religion; and, who were not likely to inherit much Loyalty from those to whom they owed their Birth. Of this Number was the Person I am now describing: I have hardly known any man with Talents more proper to acquire and preserve the Favour of a Prince; never offending in Word or Gesture, which are in the highest degree Courteous and Complaisant; wherein He sett an excellent Example to his Collegues, which they did not think fit to follow: But, this extreme Civility is universal and undistinguished; and in private Conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest Assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal.

Two Reasons are assigned for this Behaviour: First, That from the Consciousness of his humble Original, he keeps all Familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; The Second, That being sensible how subject he is to violent Passions, he avoideth all Incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with from his own Example, to keep a great way within the bounds of Decency and Respect. And, it is indeed true, That no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of Provocation; which Temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence upon himself; so that his Breast hath been seen to heave, and his Eyes to sparkle with Rage, in those very moments when his Words and the Cadence of his Voice were in the humblest and softest manner. Perhaps this Force upon his Nature may cause that insatiable Love of Revenge, which his Detractors lay to his charge; who consequently reckon Dissimulation among his chief Perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his Ambition is gratifyed by being the uncontested Head of his Party. With an excellent Understanding adorned by all the polite Parts of Learning, He hath very little Taste for Conversation; to which he prefers the pleasure of Reading and Thinking; and in the Intervals of his time amuseth himself with an illiterate Chaplain, an humble Companion, or a favourite Servant.

THESE are some few distinguishing Marks in the Character of that Person, who now presideth over the discontented Party; although He be not answerable for all their Mistakes: And if his Precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their Power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and have heard him profess, That He was against engaging in that foolish Prosecution of Dr. *Sacheverell*; as what he foresaw was likely to end in their Ruin; That he blamed the rough Demeanor of some Persons to the Queen, as a great Failure in Prudence; and that when it appeared Her Majesty was firmly resolved to enter into a Treaty of Peace, he advised his Friends not to oppose it in its Progress, but find fault with it after it was made: Which would be a Copy of the like Usage themselves had met with after the Treaty of *Riswick*; and the safest as well as the most probable way of disgracing

the Promoters and Advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the Reader some Idea of this extraordinary Genius, because, whatever Attempt hath hitherto been made, with any appearance of Conduct, or Probability of Success, to restore the Dominion of that Party, was infallibly contrived by Him: And, I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his Age and Infirmities will leave him capable of Business.

THE Duke of *Marlborough*'s Character hath been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side without the Suspicion of Flattery or Detraction. I shall say nothing of his Military Accomplishments, which the opposite Reports of his Friends and Enemies among the Soldiers have rendred in some manner Problematical: But, if he be among those who delight in War, it is agreed to be not for the Reasons common with other Generals. Those Maligners who deny him Personal Valour, seem not to consider, that this Accusation is charged at a venture; since the Person of a wise General is too seldom exposed, to form any Judgement in the Matter: And, that Fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an Action, might probably be more for his Army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory Principle; and continued with a strong Biass that way, untill the other Party had bid higher for him than his Friends could afford to give. His Want of Literature is in some sort supplyed by a good Understanding, a degree of natural Elocution, and that Knowledge of the World which is learned in Armies and Courts. We are not to take the Height of his Ambition from his soliciting to be General for Life: I am persuaded, his chief Motive was the Pay and Perquisites by continuing the War; and, that he had *then* no Intentions of settling the Crown in his Family; his only Son having been dead some years before. He is noted to be Master of great Temper; able to govern, or very well disguise his Passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his love of Wealth. That Liberality which Nature hath denyed him with respect to Money, he makes up by a great Profusion of Promises: But, this Perfection so necessary in Courts, is not very successful in Camps, among

Soldiers who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His Wife the Dutchess may justly challenge her Place in this List. It is to Her the Duke is chiefly indebted for his Greatness and his Fall. For above Twenty years She possessed without a Rival the Favours of the most indulgent Mistress in the World; nor ever let slip one single Opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own Advantage. She hath preserved a tolerable Court-Reputation with respect to Love and Gallantry. But, Three Furies reigned in her Breast, the most mortal Enemies of all softer Passions: which were, sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage: By the last of these often breaking out in Sallies of the most unpardonable sort, She had long alienated her Sovereign's Mind, before it appeared to the World. This Lady is not without some degree of Wit; and hath in her time affected the Character of it, by the usual Method of arguing against Religion, and proving the Doctrines of Christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a Spirit irritated by the loss of Power, Favour, and Employment, is capable of acting or attempting; and then I have said enough.

The next in due order to be mentioned is the Earl of *Godolphin*. It is said he was originally intended for a Trade, before his Friends preferred him to be a Page at Court; which some very unjustly have objected as a Reproach. He hath risen gradually in Four Reigns; and was more constant to his Second Master, King *James*, than some others who had received much greater Obligations: For, he attended the abdicated King to the Seaside, and kept constant Correspondence with him untill the Day of his Death. He always professed a sort of Passion for the Queen at *St. Germains*; and his Letters to Her were in a Style of what the *French* call *double-entendre*; in a mixture of Love and Respect. He used frequently to send Her from hence little Presents of those Things, which are agreeable to Ladies; for which he always asked King *William*'s Leave, as if without her Privity; because if She had known that Circumstance, it was to be supposed She would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover by consulting the

Aspect of this Lord, that his predominant Passions were Love and Play; that he could sometimes scratch out a Song in praise of his Mistress, with a Pencil and a Card; or, that he hath Tears at Command, like a Woman; to be used either in an Intrigue of Gallantry or Politicks. His Alliance with the *Marlborough* Family, and his Passion for the Dutchess, were the Cords which dragged him into a Party, whose Principles he naturally disliked; and whose Leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorow Convert by a perfect Trifle, taking fire at a * Nickname delivered by Doctor *Sacheverell* with great Indiscretion from the Pulpit, which he applyed to himself: And, this is One among many Instances given by his Enemies, that Magnanimity is none of his Virtues.

THE Earl of *Sunderland* is another Branch of that Alliance. It seems to have been this Gentleman's Fortune to have learned his Divinity from his Father, and his Politicks from his * Tutor. It may be thought a Blemish in his Character, that he hath much fallen from the Height of those Republican Principles with which he began: For, in his Father's lifetime, while he was Member of the House of Commons, he would often among his familiar Friends refuse the Title of Lord; (as he hath done to myself) swear that he would never be called otherwise than *Charles Spencer*; and hoped to see the Day, when there should not be a Peer in *England*. His Understanding is at best of the middling Size; neither hath he much improved it either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the Opinion of the World, by an overgrown Library: It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his Sovereign from the Lady he is allyed to; or whether it be the result of his own Nature. The Sense of the Injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those, to whom he hath given greatest Cause to complain; for which Reason he will never forgive either the Queen, or the present Treasurer.

THE Earl of *Wharton* hath filled the Province allotted him by his Collegues with Sufficiency equal to the Ablest of them

* *Volpone.* * Dr. *Trimnel*, since Bp. of *Winton.*

all. He hath imbibed his * Father's Principles in Government, but dropt his Religion, and took up no other in its stead: Excepting that Circumstance, He is a firm Presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the Arts of managing at Elections; as well as in laying Baits of Pleasure for making Converts of young Men of Quality upon their first Appearance: In which public Service he contracted such large Debts, that his Brethren were forced out of mere justice to leave *Ireland* at his Mercy; where he had only time to set himself right. Although the graver Heads of his Party think him too profligate and abandoned; yet they dare not be ashamed of him: For, besides his Talents above mentioned, he is very useful in Parliament; being a ready Speaker; and content to employ his Gift upon such Occasions, where those who conceive they have any remainder of Reputation or Modesty are ashamed to appear. In short, He is an incontestable Instance to discover the true Nature of Faction; since being overrun with every Quality which produceth Contempt and Hatred in all other Commerce of the World, he hath notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a Figure.

The Lord *Cowper*, although his Merits are later than the rest, deserveth a Rank in this great Council. He was very considerable in the Station of a practising Lawyer; but as he was raised to be Chancelor and a Peer without passing through any of the intermediate Steps, which in late times hath been the constant Practice, and little skilled in the Nature of Government, or the true Interests of Princes, further than the municipal or Common Law of *England* to which he was bred, his Abilities as to foreign Affairs did not equally appear in the Council. Some former Passages of his Life were thought to disqualify him for that Office, by which he was to be the Guardian of the Queen's Conscience: But those Difficulties were easily overruled by the Authors of his Promotion, who wanted a Person that would be subservient to all their Designs; wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other Accomplishments; He is what we usually call a Piece of a Scholar, and a good Logical Reasoner; if this

* The Earl his Father was a rigid Presbyterian.

were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an Argument; which makes him apt to deceive the Unwary, and sometimes to deceive Himself.

THE last to be spoken of in this List is the Earl of *Notingham*, a Convert and Acquisition to that Party since their Fall, to which he contributed his Assistance; I mean his Words, and probably his Wishes: For, he had always lived under the constant, visible Profession of Principles directly opposite to those of his new Friends: His vehement and frequent Speeches against admitting the Prince of *Orange* to the Throne, are yet to be seen. And, although a numerous Family gave a specious Pretence to his love of Power and Money, for taking an Employment under that Monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of Allegiance to his exiled Master; of which his Friends produce several Instances, and some, while he was Secretary of State to King *William*. His outward Regularity of Life, his Appearance of Religion, and seeming Zeal for the Church, as they are an Effect, so they are the Excuse of that Stiffness, and Formality with which his Nature is fraught. His adust Complexion disposeth him to Rigor and Severity, which his Admirers palliate with the name of Zeal. No man had ever a sincerer Countenance, or more truly representing his Mind and Manners. He hath some Knowledge in the Law, very amply sufficient to defend his own Property at least. A Facility of Utterance, descended to him from his Father, and improved by a few Sprinklings of Literature, hath brought himself and some few Admirers into an Opinion of his Eloquence. He is every way much inferior to his Brother *Guernsey*; but chiefly in those Talents, which he most values and pretends to; over whom nevertheless he preserveth an Ascendant. His great Ambition was to be at the Head of those, who were called the Church-Party: And, indeed, his grave solemn Deportment and Countenance, seconded by abundance of Professions for their Service, had given many of them an Opinion of his Veracity; which he interpreted as their Sense of his Judgement and Wisdom: And this Mistake lasted till the time of his Defection, of which it was partly the Cause; but then it plainly appeared, that he had

not Credit to bring over one single Proselyte to keep himself in countenance.

THESE Lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the Reader's Imagination to conceive what sort of Persons those were, who had the Boldness to encounter the Queen and Ministry, at the Head of a great Majority of the Landed Interest; And this upon a Point where the Quiet of Her Majesty's Reign, the Security or at least the Freedom of Her Person, the Lives of her most faithful Friends, and the settling of the Nation by a Peace, were in the Consequences deeply concerned.

DURING the Dominion of the late Men in Power, Addresses had been procured from both Houses to the Queen, representing their Opinion: That no Peace could be secure for *Britain* while *Spain* or the *West-Indies* remained in the Possession of the *Bourbon* Family. But, Her Majesty having for Reasons, which have been often told to the World, and which will not be soon forgotten, called a new Parliament, and chose a new Sett of Servants; began to view Things and Persons in another Light: She considered the Necessities of her People, the distant Prospect of a Peace upon such an improbable Condition, which was never mentioned, or understood in the *Grand Alliance*; the unequal Burthen she bore in the War, by the Practices of the Allies upon the Corruption of some whom she most trusted; or perhaps by the Practices of these upon the Allies; And lastly by the Changes which Death had brought about in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* Families: Upon all which Motives She was prevailed upon to receive some Overtures from *France* in behalf of Herself and the whole Confederacy. The several Steps of this Negociation, from its first Rise to the Time I am now writing, shall be related in another Part of this History. Let it suffice for the present to say, That such Proposals were received from *France* as were thought sufficient by our Court whereupon to appoint Time and Place for a General Treaty. And soon after the Opening of the Session, the * Bishop of *Bristol*, Lord Privy Seal, was dis-

* Dr. *Robinson*, afterwards Bishop of *London*.

patched to *Utrecht*, where He and the Earl of *Strafford* were appointed Plenipotentiaries for the Queen of *Great Britain*.

THE Managers of the discontented Party, who during the whole Summer had observed the Motions of the Court running fast towards a Peace, began to gather up all their Forces in order to oppose Her Majesty's Designes when the Parliament should meet. Their only Strength was in the House of Lords, where the Queen had a very crazy Majority, made up by those whose Hearts were in the other Interest; but whose Fears, Expectations or immediate Dependance had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were Two Lords, upon whose Abilities and Influence of a very different nature, the Managers built their strongest Hopes. The first was the Duke of *Sommerset* Master of the Horse. This Duke as well as his Dutchess were in a good degree of Favour with the Queen, upon the score of some Civilities and Respects Her Majesty had received from them while She was Princess. For some years after the Revolution, He never appeared at Court; but was looked upon as a Favourer of the abdicated Family: And it was the late Earl of *Rochester* who first presented him to King *William*: However, since the Time he came into Employment, which was towards the Close of the last Reign, he hath been a constant zealous Member of the other Party; but never failed either in Attendance, or Respect towards the Queen's Person; or at most, only threatned sometimes that He would serve no longer, while such or such men were Employed, which, as things went then, was not reckoned any Offence at all against Duty or good Behaviour. He had been much caressed and flattered by the Lords of the * *Junta*, who sometimes went so far as to give him hopes of the Crown in reversion to his Family, upon failure of the House of *Hanover*. All this worked so far upon his Imagination, that he affected to appear the Head of their Party, to which his Talents were no way proportioned: For, they soon grew weary of his indigested Schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them. They began to drop him at their Meetings, or contradict him with little Ceremony, when he happened to be there; which His

* A Cant name given to five Lords of that Party.

haughty Nature was not able to brook. Thus, a mortal Quarrel was kindled between him and the whole Assembly of Party-Leaders; so that upon the Queen's first Intentions of changing her Ministry soon after the Tryal of Doctor *Sacheverell*, He appointed severall meetings with Mr. *Harley* alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least lyable to Suspicion. He employed all his Credit with the Queen to drive on the Removal of My Lord *Godolphin* and the rest; And in the Council treated the small Remainder, who continued some time longer in their Places, with all possible Marks of Hatred or Disdain. But, when the Question came for Dissolving the Parliament, He stopt short: he had already satiated his Resentments, which were not against Things, but Persons; he furiously opposed that Council, and promised to undertake for the Parliament Himself. When the Queen had declared her Pleasure for the Dissolution, he flew off in greater Rage than ever; opposed the Court in all Elections where he had Influence or Power; and made very humble Advances to reconcile himself with the discarded Lords, especially the Earl of *Godolphin*; who is reported to have treated him at *Newmarket* in a most contemptuous manner. But the Sincerity of his Repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first Session of the new Parliament; and the Use he might be of by his own remaining Credit, or rather that of his Dutchess with the Queen; at length begat a Reconcilement. He still kept his Employment, and Place in the Cabinet Council, but had never appeared there, from an avowed Dislike of all Persons and Proceedings. It happened about the End of Summer 1711 at *Windsor*, when the Cabinet Council was summoned; this Duke, whether by Directions from his Teachers, or the Instability of his Nature, took a fancy to resume his Place; and a Chair was brought accordingly: Upon which, *Mr. Secretary* St. John *refused to assist*; *and gave his Reasons*; that He would never sit in Council, with a Man who had so often betrayed them; and was openly engaged with a Faction, which endeavoured to obstruct all Her Majesty's Measures. Thus the Council was put off to next Day; and the Duke made no farther Attempts to be there: But, upon this Incident, He

declared open War against the Ministry, and from that time to the Session, employed himself in spiriting up several depending Lords to adhere to their Friends, when an Occasion should offer. The Arguments he made use of, were; That, those in Power designed to make an ignominious and unsecure Peace, without consulting the Allies; That, this could be no otherwise prevented, than by an Address from the Lords, to signify their Opinion, That no Peace could be Honourable or Secure, while *Spain* or the *West-Indies* remained in any of the *Bourbon* Family; upon which several farther Resolutions and Enquiries would naturally follow: That, the Differences between the Two Houses upon this Point, must either be made up by the Commons agreeing with the Lords, or must end in a Dissolution, which would be followed by a Return of the Old Ministry; who by the force of Money and Management could easily get another Parliament to their Wishes. He farther assured them boldly, that the Queen herself was at the bottom of this Design, and had empowered him to desire their Votes against the Peace, as a Point that would be for her Service; and therefore they need not be in pain upon account of their Pensions, or any farther Marks of Favour they expected. Thus, by reviving the old Art of using Her Majesty's Authority against her Person, he prevailed over some, who were not otherwise in a Station of Life to oppose the Crown: And his Proselytes may pretend to some Share of Pity, since he offered for an Argument his own Example, who kept his Place and Favour, after all he had done to deserve the Loss of both.

THE other Lord, in whom the discontented Managers placed much of their Hopes, was the Earl of *Nottingham*, than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their Fall; partly from his avowed Principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had of sharing in their Spoils. But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the Queen, or her new Servants; These apprehended no little Trouble and Impediment to the Publick Business from his restless, talkative, overweening manner, if once he were suffered to have part in Affairs; And he stood very ill with the Court, having made a Motion in the House of Lords, and in Her

Majesty's Presence, That the Electoral Prince of *Hanover* might be invited to reside in *England*; although he had before declared to the Queen how much he was against that Proposal, when it was first offered by the other Party. However, some very considerable Employments had been given to his nearest Relations; and he had one or two Offers for Himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his Merits, and Character. Upon the Earl of *Rochester*'s Decease, he conceived, that the Crown would hardly overlook him for President of the Council; and deeply resented that Disappointment. But the Duke of *Newcastle* Lord Privy Seal dying some time after, he found that Office was first designed for the Earl of *Jersey*, and upon this Lord's sudden Death, was actually disposed of to the Bishop of *Bristol*; by which he plainly saw that the Queen was determined against giving him any Opportunity of directing in Affairs, or displaying his Eloquence in the Cabinet Council. He had now shaken off all remains of Patience or Temper; and from the Contemplation of his own Disappointments fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the Publick Management; and to assure his Neighbours in the Country, that the Nation was in imminent Danger of being ruined. The discontented Lords were soon apprised of this great Change; and the Duke of *Roxborough* the Earl's Son-in-law was dispatched down to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his present Dispositions, and offer him whatever Terms he pleased to insist on. The Earl immediately agreed to fall in with any Measures for distressing or destroying the Ministry: But, in order to preserve his Reputation with the Church-Party, and perhaps bring them over to his Interests, He proposed, that a Bill should be brought into the House of Lords for preventing Occasional Conformity, and be unanimously agreed to, by all the Peers of the Low Church Principle; which would convince the World of their good Intentions to the Established Religion; and, that their Oppositions to the Court wholly proceeded from their Care of the Nation, and Concern for its Honour and Safety.

THESE Preparations were publick enough, and the Ministers had sufficient time to arm themselves. But, they seem to have

acted in this Juncture like Men who trusted to the Goodness of their Cause, and the general Inclinations of the Kingdom, rather than to those Arts, which our Corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a Majority of Ten upon the side of the Court. I remember to have then told My Lord *Harcourt* and Mr. *Prior*, that a Majority of ten was onely a Majority of five, because if their Adversarys could bring off five, the Number would be equall; And so it happened to prove. For the Mistake lay in counting upon the bare Promises of those who were wholly in the Interest of the Old Ministry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the Crown, and losing their Subsistence; wherein the Duke of *Sommerset* had given them full Satisfaction.

WITH these Dispositions of both Parties, and Fears and Hopes of the Event, the Parliament met upon the 7th of *December* 1711. The Queen's Speech (excepting what related to Supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both Houses what Progress She had made towards a General Peace; and her Hopes of bringing it to a speedy Conclusion. As soon as Her Majesty was withdrawn, the House of Lords in a Committee resolved upon an Address of Thanks, to which the Earl of *Nottingham* proposed an Addition of the following Clause:

"AND We do beg Leave to represent it to Your Majesty "as the humble Opinion and Advice of this House, That no "Peace can be Safe or Honourable to *Great Britain* or *Europe*, if "*Spain* and the *West-Indies* are to be allotted to any Branch of "the House of *Bourbon*."

HE was seconded by the Earl of *Scarborough*; and after a Debate of several Hours, the Question for the Clause was carryed by [not above two] Voices. The next Day, the House agreed with the Committee; the depending Lords having taken fresh Courage from their Principals; and some who professed themselves very humble Servants to the present Ministry, and Enemies to the former, went along with the Stream; pretending not to see the Consequences that must visibly follow. The Address was presented on the 11th, to which Her Majesty's Answer was short and dry: She distinguished

their Thanks from the rest of the Piece; and in return to my Lord *Nottingham*'s Clause, said, "She should be sorry that any "body could think She would not do the utmost to recover "*Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*." Upon the 15th of *December* the Earl of *Nottingham* likewise brought in the Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity (although under a disguised Title) which met with no Opposition, but was swallowed by those very Lords who had always appeared with the utmost Violence against the least advantage to the Established Church.

BUT, in the House of Commons there appeared a very different Spirit: For, when one Mr. *Robert Walpole* offered a Clause of the same nature with that of the Earl of *Nottingham*, it was rejected with Contempt by a very great Majority. Their Address was in the most Dutiful manner; approving what Her Majesty had done towards a Peace; and trusting entirely to her Wisdom in the future Management of it. This Address was presented to the Queen a Day before that of the Lords; and received an Answer distinguishingly Gracious: But the other Party was no Way discouraged by either Answer, which they look'd upon as only matter of Course, and the Sense of the Ministry contrary to that of the Queen.

THE Parliament sat as long as the approaching Festival would allow; and upon the 22d the Land-Taxe and Occasional Bill having received the Royal Assent, the House of Commons adjourned to the 14th of *January* following. But the Adjournment of the Lords was only to the 2d. The prevailing Party there being in haste to pursue the Consequences of the E. of *Nottingham*'s Clause, which they hoped would end in the Ruin of the Treasurer, and the Overthrow of the Ministry; And therefore took the Advantage of this Interval, that they might not be disturbed by the Commons.

WHEN this Address against any Peace without *Spain* was carryed in the House of Lords, it is not easy to describe the Effects it had upon most mens Passions. The Partisans of the Old Ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the Game were their own. The Earl of *Wharton* was observed in the House to smile and put his Hands to

his Neck, when any of the Ministry were speaking; by which he would have it understood, that some Heads were in danger. *Parker* the Chief Justice began already with great Zeal and Officiousness to prosecute Authors and Printers of Weekly and other Papers, writt in defence of the Administration: In short, Joy and Vengeance sate visible in every Countenance of that Party.

On the other side, all Well-Wishers to the Queen, the Church, or the Peace, were equally Dejected; and the Treasurer stood the foremost Mark both of his Enemy's Fury, and the Censure of his Friends. Among the latter, Some imputed this fatal Miscarriage to his procrastinating Nature; Others to his unmeasurable Publick Thrift: Both Parties agreed, that a first Minister with very moderate Skill in Affairs might easily have governed the Event; and some began to doubt, whether the great Fame of his Abilities acquired in other Stations, were what he justly deserved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with great Phlegm; neither did it make any Alteration in his Countenance, or Humour. He told Mons. *Buys*, the *Dutch* Envoy, Two Days before the Parliament sate, That he was Sorry for what was like to pass, because the *States* would be the first Sufferers, which he desired the Envoy to remember: And to his nearest Friends, who appeared in pain about the Publick or Themselves, he onely said That All would be well; and desired them not to be frighted.

I have good Reasons to believe that this Minister, who hath not been usually charged with want of Sagacity, did from the first foresee and suffer that Point to be carryed against him, for very wise and weighty Reasons. He considered the House of Peers as a Body made up almost a Fourth Part of New Men within Twenty Years past; all Clients or Proselytes to the Leaders of the opposite Party, and consequently stocked with Principles little consistent with the old Constitution: That, this Infection had spread yet farther among the Bench of Bishops, and, that many of the younger Peers had been educated under the same Masters: He considered, that Corruptions grown in such an Assembly were not to be Cured without much Time

and Pains; That, where the Two Houses should differ so far as to stop the Course of Business, the Commons must of necessity comply, or be dissolved; which would put the Prince and People under insuperable Difficulties, and make it ruinous, or impossible for a Ministry to serve: That, the Royal Prerogative could never be more properly exerted than in such an Exigency as this; and, that for the Queen to lie at mercy of a few pensionary Lords, who would be ready to sacrifice Her to any Faction, that bid them higher, and this in Points where the very Safety of the Kingdom was at stake, would be a Life of Expedients; upon which no Government could long subsist. Neither is it improbable, that he might let things run so far in order to give his Mistress a thorow View of that Party's Dispositions, and how they intended to proceed, if the Power should revert into their Hands; upon supposal of any remainder of Indulgence towards them in Her Majesty's Breast after so long experience of their Practices.

It was, I conceive, upon these Motives that the Treasurer advised Her Majesty to create Twelve new Lords, and thereby disable the Sting of Faction for the rest of her Life. This Promotion was so ordered, that a Third Part were of those to whom or their Posterity Peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such whose Merit, Birth, and Fortune could admitt of no Exception.

The adverse Party, being thus driven down by open Force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did; That, it was a pernicious Example set for ill Princes to follow; who by the same Rule might make at any time a Hundred, as well as Twelve; and by these means become Masters of the House of Lords, whenever they pleased; which would be dangerous to our Liberties: To this it was answered; That, ill Princes seldome trouble themselves to look for Precedents; That, Men of great Estates will not be less fond of preserving their Liberties, when they are created Peers: That, in such a Government as this, where the Prince holds the Balance between Two great Powers, the Nobility and People; It is of the very nature of his Office to remove from One Scale into Another; or sometimes put his own Weight into the lightest, so to

bring both to an Equilibrium: And lastly, That the other Party had been above Twenty Years corrupting the Nobility with Republican Principles, which nothing but the Royal Prerogative could hinder from overspreading us.

THE Conformity Bill above mentioned was prepared by the Earl of *Nottingham* before the Parliament met, and brought in at the same time with the Clause against Peace, according to the Bargain made between Him and his new Friends. This he hoped would not only save his Credit with the Church-Party, but bring them over to his Politicks; since they must needs be convinced that instead of changing his own Principles, he had prevailed on the greatest Enemies of the Established Religion to be the first Movers in a Law for the perpetual Settlement of it. Here it is worth Observing with what Resignation the *Junta* Lords (As they were then called) are submitted to by their Adherents and Followers: For it is well known that the Chief among the Dissenting Teachers in Town were consulted upon this Affair; and such Arguments used as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater Advantage to their Cause, than the Passing of this Bill. I did indeed see a Letter at that time from One of them to a Great * Man, complaining that they were betrayed, and undone by their pretended Friends: But they were in general very well Satisfyed, upon Promises that this Law should soon be repealed, and Others more in their Favour Enacted, as soon as their Friends should be re-established.

BUT, nothing seemed more extraordinary, than the Event of this refined Management; by which the Earl of *Nottingham* was so far from bringing over Proselytes (wherein his Abilities fell very short even of the Duke of *Sommerset*'s) or preserving the Reputation of a firm Churchman; that very few People did so much as imagine He had any such Design; only when he brought in the Bill, they conceived it was some wonderful deep Reach of Politicks, which they could not comprehend. However, they liked the Thing, and without troubling themselves about the Persons or Motives from whence it rose, It had a very speedy Passage through both Houses.

* It was to the Ld. Treasurer himself.

It must be confessed, that some Attempt of this nature was much more necessary to the Leaders of that Party, than is generally thought: The Desire of Power and Revenge was common to them all; but Several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of Protection; whose Safety was therefore concerned in the Design of ruining the Ministry, as well as their Ambition. The Duke of *Marlborough* foresaw those Examinations which were afterwards made into some Parts of his Management; and was apprehensive of a great deal more; that the Parliament would perhaps enquire into the Particulars of the Negociation at the *Hague* in 1709; for what Ends, and by whose Advice the Propositions of Peace from *France* were then rejected: Besides, he dreaded lest that mysterious Policy might be laid open to the World, of desiring the Queen to constitute him General for Life, which was a very tender Point, and would admitt of too much Proof. It is true indeed, that whilst the Duke's Affair was under Consideration of the House of Commons, * one of his Creatures (whether by Direction or otherwise) assured the Speaker with a very serious Countenance, That the World was mistaken in censuring his Lord upon this Article; for it was the Queen who pressed the Duke to accept that Commission, and upon his humble Refusal, conceived her first Displeasure against him. How such a Defence would have passed, if it had been offered in form, is easier to be conceived, than how any Person in his Wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which last would indeed be hard to believe, if there were any room left for Doubt.

The Earl of *Godolphin* wanted Protection, notwithstanding the Act of General Pardon, which had been procured by his Credit, and was principally calculated for his own Security. He knew that his long Neglect of compelling the Accountants to pass their Accounts might be punished as a Breach of Trust: He had run the Kingdom into immense Debts, by taking up Stores for the Navy upon a vast Discount without Parliamentary Security; for which he could be able to plead neither Law, nor Necessity: And he had given way at least to some

* *Craigs*, father to the Secretary.

Proceedings not very justifyable in relation to Remittances of Money, whereby the Publick had suffered considerable Losses. The Barrier Treaty sate heavy upon the Lord *Townshend*'s Spirits; because, if it should be layed before the House of Commons, whoever negociated that Affair, might be subject to the severest Animadversion: And the Earl of *Wharton*'s Administration in *Ireland* was looked upon as a sufficient Ground to impeach him, at least for High Crimes and Misdemeanours.

THE Managers in *Holland* were sufficiently apprized of all this; and Mons. *Buys* their Minister here took care to cultivate that good Correspondence between his Masters and their *English* Friends, which becomes Two Confederates pursuing the same End.

THIS Man had been formerly employed to *England* from that Republick; and, understands a little of our Language: His Proficiency in Learning hath been such, as to furnish now and then a *Latin* Quotation, of which he is as liberal, as his Stock will admit.' His Knowledge in Government reacheth no farther than that of his own Country, by which he forms and calculates Maxims of State for the rest of the World. His Reasonings upon Politicks are with great Profusion at all Meetings; and he leaves the Company with entire Satisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of Cunning which is the Growth of his Country, of a Standard with the Genius of the People, and capable of being transferred into every Condition of Life among them, from the Boor to the Burgomaster. He came into *England* with Instructions authorizing him to accommodate all Differences between Her Majesty and the States: But, having first advised with the Confederate Lords, he assured the Ministry that he had Power to hear their Proposals, but none to conclude; And having represented to his Masters what had been told him by the adverse Party here, He prevailed with them to revoke his Powers. He found, The Interest of those who withstood the Court would exactly fall in with the Designs of the States; which were to carry on the War, as long as they could, at our Expence; and to see themselves at the Head of a Treaty of

Peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to *France*, or to receive Overtures from thence. The Emperour upon many powerful Reasons was utterly averse from all Councils, which aimed at putting an End to the War without delivering him the whole Dominion of *Spain*; nay the Elector of *Hanover* himself, although presumptive Heir to the Crown, and obliged by all sorts of Ties to cultivate Her Majesty's Friendship, was so far deceived by Misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer Mons. *Bothmar* his Envoy here to print and publish a Memorial in *English*, directly disapproving all Her Majesty's Proceedings: Which Memorial, as appears by the Style and Manner of it, was all drawn up, or at least digested by some Party-Pen on this side the Water. Cautious Writers, in order to avoid Offence or Danger, and preserve the Respect due even to Foreign Princes, do usually charge the wrong Steps in a Court altogether upon the Persons employed. But, I should have taken a securer Method, and have been wholly silent in this Point, if I had not then conceived some hope, that His Electoral Highness might have possibly been a Stranger to the Memorial of his Resident. For first; the Manner of delivering it to the Secretary of State was out of all Form, and almost as extraordinary as the Thing itself. Mons. *Bothmar* having obtained an Hour of Mr. Secretary St. *John*, talked much to him upon the Subject, of which that Memorial consists; and upon going away, desired he might leave a Paper with the Secretary, which he said contained the Substance of what he had been discoursing. This Paper Mr. St. *John* laid aside among others of little Consequence; and a few Days after saw a Memorial in Print, which he found, upon comparing, to be the same with what *Bothmar* had left.

DURING this short Recess of Parliament, and upon the Fifth of *January*, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* landed in *England*. Before He left his Ship, he asked a Person who came to meet him, Whether the new Lords were made; and what was their Number. He was attended through the Streets by a mighty Rabble of People to St. *James*'s, where Mr. Secretary St. *John* introduced him to the Queen, who received him with great Civility. His Arrival had been long expected and the Project

of his Journey had as long been formed by the Party-Leaders here, in concert with Mons. *Buys*, and Mons. *Bothmar*, the *Dutch* and *Hanover* Envoys. This Prince brought over Credentials from the Emperour, with Offers to continue the War upon a new foot, very advantageous to *Britain*; Part of which Mr. St. *John* soon after by her Majesty's Command produced to the House of Commons, where they were rejected, not without some Indignation, by a great Majority. The Emperor's Proposals, so far as they related to *Spain*, were communicated to the House in the Words following:

"His Imperial Majesty judges That Forty Thousand Men "will be sufficient for this Service; and that the whole Expence "of the War in *Spain* may amount to Four Millions of Crowns; "towards which His Imperial Majesty offers to make up the "Troops which he has in that Country to Thirty Thousand "Men; And to take One Million of Crowns upon Himself."

On the other side, the House of Commons voted a Third Part of those Four Millions as a sufficient Quota for Her Majesty towards that Service: For it was supposed, the Emperour ought to bear the greatest Proportion in a Point that so nearly concerned him; or at least, that, *Britain* contributing One Third, the other Two might be paid by His Imperial Majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The Design of Prince *Eugene*'s Journey was to raise a Spirit in the Parliament and People for continuing the War. For, nothing was thought impossible to a Prince of such high Reputation in Arms; in great Favour with the Emperour, and empowered to make such Proposals from his Master, as the Ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted Letter from Count *Gallas*, (formerly the Emperour's Envoy here) That the Prince was wholly left to his Liberty of making what Offers he pleased in the Emperour's Name: For, if the Parliament could once be brought to raise Funds, and the War go on; the Ministers here must be under a Necessity of applying and expending those Funds; and the Emperour could afterwards find twenty Reasons and Excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his Quota. Therefore Prince *Eugene* for some time kept himself within Generals,

untill being pressed to explain himself upon that Particular of the War in *Spain*, which the House of *Austria* pretended to have most at heart; He made that Offer abovementioned, as a most extraordinary Effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that Monarchy for Themselves. But, shameful as these Proposals were, few believed the Emperour would observe them; or indeed that he ever intended to spare so many Men as would make up an Army of Thirty Thousand to be employed in *Spain*.

PRINCE *Eugene*'s Visit to his Friends in *England* continued longer than was expected. He was every day entertained magnificently by Persons of Quality of both Parties; He went frequently to the Treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private: He visited the other Ministers and great Officers of the Court: But, upon all Occasions publickly owned the Character and Appellation of a Whig; And in secret held continual Meetings with the Duke of *Marlborough* and the other discontented Lords, where Mons. *Bothmar* usually assisted. It is the great Ambition of this Prince to be perpetually engaged in War, without considering the Cause or the Consequence; And to see himself at the Head of an Army, where only He can make any considerable Figure. He is not without a natural Tincture of that Cruelty sometimes charged upon the *Italians*; And being nursed in Arms, hath so far extinguished all the Pity and Remorse that He will at any time sacrifice a Thousand Mens Lives to a Caprice of Glory or Revenge. He had conceived an incurable Hatred for the Treasurer, as the Person who principally opposed this insatiable Passion for War; said he had hopes of Others, but that the Treasurer was *un méchant Diable*, not to be moved. Wherefore, since it was impossible for Him and his Friends to compass their Designs, while that Minister continued at the Head of Affairs, he proposed an Expedient, often practised by those of his Country, That the Treasurer (to use his own Expression) should be taken off *à la negligence*: That this might easily be done, and pass for an Effect of Chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper People to committ small Riots in the Night, and in

several Parts of the Town. A Crew of obscure Ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeding their Commission, and mixing themselves with those disorderly People that often infest the Streets at Midnight, acted inhumane Outrages, on many Persons, whom they cut and mangled in the Faces amd Arms, and other Parts of the Body, without any Provocation. But, an effectual Stop was soon put to these Enormities, which probably hindered the Execution of the main Design.

I AM very sensible that such an Imputation ought not to be charged upon any Person whatsoever, upon slight Grounds or doubtful Surmizes; And, that those who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this Passage to be fitter for a Libel, than a History. But, as the Account was given by more than One Person who was at the Meeting, so it was confirmed past all Contradiction by several intercepted Letters, and other Papers. And it is most certain, That the Rage of the defeated Party upon their frequent Disappointments was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some Councils yet more violent and desperate than this; which however by the Vigilance of those near the Person of Her Majesty were happily prevented.

ON the 30th day of *December* 1711 the Duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his Employments; the Duke of *Ormonde* succeeding him as General, both here and in *Flanders*. This Proceeding of the Court (as far as it related to the Duke of *Marlborough*) was much censured both at home and abroad; and by some who did not wish ill to the present Situation of Affairs. There were few Examples of a Commander being disgraced after an uninterrupted Course of Success for many Years, against a formidable Enemy; and this before a Period was put to the War. Those who had least Esteem for his Valour and Conduct thought it not prudent to remove a General, whose Troops were perpetually Victorious, while He was at their Head: Because this had infused into his Soldiers an Opinion that they should always conquer; and into the Enemy, that they should always be beaten; than which nothing is held to be of greater Moment either in the Progress of a War,

or upon a Day of Battle. And, I have good Grounds to affirm, that these Reasons had sufficient Weight with the Queen and Ministry, to have kept the Duke of *Marlborough* in his Post, if a Way could have been found out to have done it, with any Assurance of Safety to the Nation. It is the Misfortune of Princes, that the Effects of their Displeasure make usually much more Noise than the Causes. Thus, the Sound of the Duke's Fall was heard farther than many of the Reasons which made it necessary; whereof though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the Dark.

UPON the Duke's last Return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his Arrival to Town (whether by Accident or otherwise) upon the 17th of *November*, called Queen ELIZABETH's DAY; when great Numbers of his Creatures and Admirers had thought fit to revive an old Ceremony among the Rabble, of burning the Pope in Effigie; for the Performance of which with more Solemnity they had made extraordinary Preparations. From several Circumstances of the Expence in this intended Pageantry, and of the Persons who promoted it, the Court apprehensive of a Design to inflame the Common People, thought fit to order that the several Figures should be seized as Popish Trinkets; and Guards were ordered to patrole for preventing any tumultuous Assemblies. Whether this Frolick were only intended for an Affront to the Court; or, whether it had a deeper Meaning, I must leave undetermined. The Duke is not in his own Nature much turned to be Popular; And, in his flourishing Times, whenever He came back to *England* upon the Close of a Campagne he rather affected to avoid any Concourse of the Mobile, if they had been disposed to attend him. Therefore, so very contrary a Proceeding at this Juncture made it suspected as if He had a Design to place himself at their Head. *France*, Popery, the Pretender, and Peace without *Spain*, were the Words to be given about at this mock Parade; And if what was confidently affirmed be true, That a Report was to have been spread at the same time of the Queen's Death; no man can tell what might have been the Event.

BUT, this Attempt to whatever Purposes intended, proving wholly abortive by the Vigilance of those in Power; the Duke's

Arrival was without any Noise or Consequence; And, upon consulting with his Friends, he soon fell in with their new Scheme for preventing the Peace. It was believed by many Persons, that the Ministers might with little Difficulty have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a Tryal. For, as He would probably have accepted any Terms to continue in a Station of such prodigious Profit; so there was sufficient room to work upon his Fears, (I mean onely in his Political Capacity) of which he is seldom unprovided; And this Infirmity very much increased by his unmeasurable Possessions, which have rendered him, *ipsique onerique timentem*; But, Reason as well as the Event, proved this to be a Mistake: For the Ministers being determined to bring the War to as speedy an Issue as the Honour and Safety of their Country would permitt, could not possibly recompence the Duke for the mighty Incomes he held by the Continuance of it. Then, the other Party had calculated their Numbers; and by the accession of the Earl of *Nottingham* (whose Example they hoped would have many Followers) and the successful Solicitations of the Duke of *Sommerset*, found they were sure of a Majority in the House of Lords: So that in this View of Circumstances the Duke of *Marlborough* thought he acted with Security as well as Advantage. He therefore boldly fell with his whole Weight into the Design of ruining the Ministry, at the expence of his Duty to his Sovereign, and the Welfare of his Country, after the mighty Obligations he had received from both. Whig and Tory were now no longer the Dispute; but, the Queen, or the Duke of *Marlborough*. He was at the Head of all the Cabals and Consults with *Bothmar*, and *Buys*, and the discontented Lords. He forgot that Government of his Passion for which his Admirers used to celebrate him; and fell into all the Impotencies of Anger and Violence upon every Party Debate; So that the Queen found herself under a Necessity either on the One side to sacrifice those Friends who had ventured their Lives in rescuing Her out of the Power of some, whose former Treatment She had little reason to be fond of; to put an end to the Progress She had made towards a Peace, and dissolve Her Parliament: Or, on the Other side, by removing One Person from so great a

Trust, to get clear of all her Difficulties at once. Her Majesty therefore determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer Course; And, during the Recess at *Christmass* sent the Duke a Letter, to tell him, She had no farther Occasion for his Service.

THERE hath not perhaps in the present Age been a clearer Instance to shew the Instability of all Greatness, which is not founded upon Virtue; And, it may be an Instruction to Princes who are well in the Hearts of their People, That the overgrown Power of any particular Person, although supported by exorbitant Wealth, can by a little Resolution be reduced in a moment without any dangerous Consequences. This Lord, who was beyond Comparison the greatest Subject in *Christendom*, found his Power, Credit and Influence crumble away on a sudden; And except a few Friends or Followers by Inclination, the rest dropt off in course. From directing in some manner the Affairs of *Europe*, he descended to be Member of a Faction, and with little Distinction even there; That Virtue of subduing his Resentments, for which He was so famed, when he had little or no Occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him, when he stood most in need of its Assistance; And upon Tryal was found unable to bear a Reverse of Fortune; giving way to Rage, Impatience, Envy and Discontent.

Lib. 2.

THE House of Lords met upon the Second day of *January*, according to their Adjournment: But, before they could proceed to Business, The twelve new created Peers were in the usual Form admitted to their Seats in that Assembly; who by their Number turned the Balance on the side of the Court, and voted an Adjournment to the same Day with the Commons. Upon the 14th of *January* the Two Houses mett; but the Queen, who intended to be there in Person, sent a Message to inform them, that She was prevented by a sudden Return of the Gout; and to desire they would adjourn for Three Days longer, when Her Majesty hoped She should be able to speak to them. However Her Indisposition still continuing, Mr. Secretary *St. John* brought another Message to the House of Commons from the Queen, containing the Substance of what She intended to have Spoken. "That "She could now tell them, Her Plenipotentiaries were arrived "at *Utrecht*, and had begun in pursuance of their Instructions "to concert the most proper Ways of procuring a just Satisfac- "tion to All Powers in Alliance with Her, according to their "several Treaties; and particularly with relation to *Spain* "and the *West-Indies*; That, Her Majesty promised to com- "municate to them the Terms of Peace before the same "should be concluded: That, the World would now see How "groundless those Reports were, and without the least Colour, "that a Separate Peace had been Treated: That, Her Ministers "were directed to propose, a Day might be fixed for the "finishing, as was done for the Commencement of this Treaty: "And, that in the mean time all Preparations were hastening "for an early Campagne, *&c.*"

HER Majesty's Endeavours towards this great Work having been in such a Forwardness at the Time that her Message was sent; I shall here, as in the most proper place,

relate the several Steps by which the Intercourse between the Courts of *France* and *Britain* was begun and carryed on.

THE Marquis *de Torcy*, sent by the Most Christian King to the *Hague*, had there in the Year 1709 made very advantageous Offers to the Allies in his Master's Name, which Our Ministers as well as those of the States thought fit to refuse; and advanced other Proposals in their stead; but of such a nature as no Prince could digest, who did not lie at the immediate Mercy of his Enemies. It was Demanded among other Things, That the *French* King should employ his own Troops in conjunction with those of the Allies to drive his Grandson out of *Spain*. The Proposers knew very well, that the Enemy would never consent to this; And, if it were possible they could at first have any such Hopes, Mons. *de Torcy* assured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed. For, when the *British* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries were drawing up their Demands, they desired that Minister to assist them in the Style and Expression, which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest Words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last Resolution, Whether these were the lowest Terms the Allies could accept; And having received a determinate Answer in the Affirmative, He spoke to this effect:

THAT, He thanked them heartily for giving him the happiest Day he had ever seen in his Life: That, in perfect Obedience to his Master, He had made Concessions, in his own Opinion highly derogatory to the King's Honour and Interest: That, He had not concealed the Difficulties of his Court, or the Discontents of his Country, by a long unsuccessful War, which could only justify the large Offers He had been empowered to make: That, the Conditions of Peace now delivered into his hands by the Allies would raise a new Spirit in the Nation, and remove the greatest Difficulty the Court lay under, by putting it in his Master's power to convince all his Subjects how earnestly His Majesty desired to ease them from the Burthen of the War; but, that his Enemies would not accept any Terms which could consist either with their Safety or His Honour. Mons. *de Torcy*

assured the Pensioner in the strongest manner, and bid Him count upon it, That the King his Master would never Sign those Articles.

IT soon appeared, that the Marquis *de Torcy*'s Predictions were true: For, upon delivering to his Master the last Resolutions of the Allies; That Prince took care to publish them all over his Kingdom, as an Appeal to his Subjects against the Unreasonableness and Injustice of his Enemies: Which Proceeding effectually answered the Utmost He intended by it. For, the *French* Nation extremely jealous of their Monarch's Glory, made universal Offers of their Lives and Fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious Terms: And the Clergy in particular promised to give the King their consecrated Plate towards continuing the War. Thus, that mighty Kingdom, generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its Wealth, yet when driven to a Necessity by the Imprudence of the Allies, or by the Corruption of particular Men, who influenced their Councils; recovered Strength enough to support it self for Three following Campagnes; And in the last by the fatal Blindness or Obstinacy of the Dutch venturing to act without the Assistance of *Britain* (which they had shamefully abandoned) was an Overmatch for the whole Confederate Army.

THOSE who in order to defend the Proceeding of the Allies have given an Account of this Negociation, do wholly omitt the Circumstance I have now related; And express the Zeal of the *British* and *Dutch* Ministers for a Peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after Mons. *de Torcy*, and Mons. *Rouillé* for a farther Conference; But in the mean time Mr. *Horatio Walpole*, Secretary to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries was dispatched over hither, to have those abortive Articles Signed and Ratifyed by Her Majesty at a venture; which was accordingly done: A Piece of Management altogether Absurd, and without Example; contrived only to deceive our People into a Belief, that a Peace was intended; and to shew what great Things the Ministry designed to do.

BUT, this Hope expiring upon the News that *France* had refused to Sign those Articles; all was solved by recourse to

the Old Topick of the *French* Perfidiousness: We loaded them plentifully with ignominious Appellations; they were a Nation never to be trusted; the Parliament chearfully continued their Supplies, and the War went on.

THE Winter following began the Second and last Session of the preceding Parliament; noted for the Tryal of Doctor *Sacheverell*, and the Occasion thereby given to the People to discover and exert their Dispositions, very opposite to the Designs of those who were then in Power. In the Summer of 1710 ensued a gradual Change of the Ministry; and in the beginning of that Winter the present Parliament was called.

THE King of *France*, whose real Interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable Peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal Conditions with *either of the Two Maritime Powers* engaged against him, because of the Prevalency of Factions in both; who acted in concert to their mutual private Advantage, although directly against the general Dispositions of the People in either; as well as against their several Maxims of Government. But, upon the great Turn of Affairs and Councils here in *England*, the new Parliament and Ministers acting from other Motives and upon other Principles, that Monarch hoped, an Opportunity might arise of resuming his Endeavours towards a Peace.

THERE was at this Time in *England* a *French* Ecclesiastick, called the Abbé *Gaultier*; who had resided several Years in *London*, under the Protection of some foreign Ministers, in whose Families he used upon occasion to exercise his Function of a Priest: After the Battle of *Blenheim*, this Gentleman went down to *Nottingham*, where several *French* Prisoners of Quality were kept; to whom he rendered those Offices of Civility suitable to Persons in their Condition; which upon their Return to *France* they reported to his Advantage. Among the rest, the Chevalier *de Croissy* told his Brother the Marquis *de Torcy*, that whenever the *French* Court would have a mind to make Overtures of Peace with *England*, Mons. *Gaultier* might be very usefully employed in handing them to the Ministers here: This was no farther thought on at present: In the mean time the War went on; and the Conferences at

the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* miscarryed by the Allies insisting upon such Demands as they neither expected nor perhaps desired should be Granted. Some time in *July* 1710 Mons. *Gaultier* received a Letter from the Marquis *de Torcy*, signifying, That a Report being spread of Her Majesty's Intentions to change her Ministry; to take Mr. *Harley* into her Councils, and to dissolve her Parliament; The most Christian King thought it might be now a favourable Conjuncture to offer new Proposals of a Treaty. Mons. *Gaultier* was therefore directed to apply himself in the Marquis's Name either to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Jersey*, or Mr. *Harley*; and inform the *French* Court how such a Proposition would be relished. *Gaultier* chose to deliver his Message to the Second of these (who had been Ambassadour from the late King to *France*) But, the Earl excused himself from entring into Particulars with a Stranger, and a private Person, who had no Authority for what he said, more than a Letter from Mons. *de Torcy*. *Gaultier* offered to procure another from that Minister to the Earl himself; and did so in a Month after, but obtained no Answer till *December* following. When the Queen had made all necessary Changes, and summoned a free Parliament to her Wishes; About the beginning of *January* the Abbot (after having procured his Dismission from Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Envoy, at that time his Protector) was sent to *Paris* to inform Mons. *Torcy*, That Her Majesty would be willing his Master should resume the Treaty with *Holland*, provided the Demands of *England* might previously be Granted. *Gaultier* came back after a short Stay, with a Return to his Message, That, the *Dutch* had used the Most Christian King and His Ministers in such a manner both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, as made that Prince resolve not to expose himself any more to the like Treatment; that He therefore chose to address himself to *England*; and was ready to make whatever Offers Her Majesty could reasonably expect for the Advantage of her own Kingdoms, and the Satisfaction of her Allies.

AFTER this Message had been duely considered by the Queen and her Ministers; Mons. *Gaultier* was dispatched the

Second time to *France*, about the beginning of *March* 1710–11, with an Answer to the following Purpose: That, since *France* had their particular Reasons for not beginning again to Treat with *Holland*; *England* was willing to remove that Difficulty; And proposed, it should be done in this Manner. That, *France* should send over hither the Proposition for a Treaty, which should be transmitted by *England* to *Holland*, to be jointly treated on that side the Water. But, it was to be understood, that the same Proposition formerly offered to *Holland* was to be made to *England*; or One not less Advantageous to the Allies. For, although *England* would enter most sincerely into such a Treaty, and shew in the Course of it the Clearness of their Intentions; yet they could not with Honour entertain a less beneficial Proposal than what was offered to the States.

THAT Prince as well as his Minister Mons. *de Torcy* either felt or affected so much Resentment of the Usage the latter had met at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, that they appeared to be fully determined against making any Application to the States, where the same Persons continued still in Power; of whose Treatment they so heavily complained. They seemed altogether to distrust the Inclinations of that Republick towards a Peace; but, at the same time shewed a mighty Complaisance to the *English* Nation, and a Desire to have Her Majesty at the Head of a Treaty. This appears by the first Overtures in Form sent from that Kingdom, and signed by Mons. *de Torcy* on the 22d of *April* N. S. 1711 to the following effect:

That, as it could not be doubted but the King was in a Condition of continuing the War with Honour; so it could not be looked on as a Mark of Weakness in His Majesty to break the Silence he had kept since the Conferences at Gertruydenberg*; And, that before the Opening of the Campagne, He now gives farther Proofs of the Desire He always had to procure the Repose of* Europe. *But, after what he hath found by Experience of the Sentiments of those Persons, who now govern the Republick of* Holland, *and of their Industry in rendring all Negociations without effect; His Majesty will for the Publick Good offer to the* English *Nation those Propositions which He thinks fit to make for terminating the War, and for settling the*

Tranquility of Europe *upon a solid Foundation. It is with this View that the King offers to enter on a Treaty of Peace founded on the following Conditions.*

First, The English *shall have real Securities for carrying on their Trade in* Spain, *the* Indies, *and the Ports of the* Mediterranean.

Secondly, The King will consent to form a sufficient Barrier in the Low Countries for the Security of the Republick of Holland; *And, this Barrier shall be such as* England *shall agree upon and approve: His Majesty promising at the same time an entire Liberty and Security to the Trade of the* Dutch.

Thirdly, All reasonable Methods shall be thought on with Sincerity and Truth for giving Satisfaction to the Allies of England *and* Holland.

Fourthly, Whereas, the Affairs of the King of Spain *are in so good a Condition, as to furnish new Expedients for putting an End to the Disputes about that Monarchy and for settling it to the Satisfaction of the several Parties concerned; all sincere Endeavours shall be used for surmounting the Difficulties arisen upon this Occasion; and the Trade and Interest of all Parties engaged in the present War shall be secured.*

Fifthly, The Conferences in order to treat of a Peace upon these Conditions, shall immediatly be opened; and the Plenipotentiaries whom the King shall name to assist thereat, shall treat with those of England *and* Holland, *either alone, or in Conjunction with those of their Allies, as* England *shall choose.*

Sixthly, His Majesty proposes the Towns of Aix la Chapelle, *or* Liege, *for the Place where the Plenipotentiaries shall assemble; leaving the Choice likewise to* England *of either of the said Towns, wherein to Treat a general Peace.*

THESE Overtures, although expressing much Confidence in the Ministry here; great Deference to the Queen, and Displeasure against the *Dutch*; were immediatly transmitted by Her Majesty's Command to Her Ambassador in *Holland*, with Orders that they should be communicated to the Pensionary. The Abbé *Gaultier* was desired to signify this Proceeding to the Marquis *de Torcy*; and at the same time to let that Minister understand, that some of the above Articles ought to

be explained. The Lord *Raby* was directed to tell the Pensionary, that Her Majesty being resolved in making Peace, as in making War, to act in perfect Concert with the States, would not lose a moment in transmitting to Him a Paper of this Importance: That, the Queen earnestly desired the Secret might be kept among as few as possible; and that she hoped, the Pensionary would advise upon this Occasion with no Person whatsoever, except such as by the Constitution of that Government are unavoidably necessary. That, the Terms of the several Propositions were indeed too general; but however, they contained an Offer to treat; and, that although there appeared an Air of Complaisance to *England* through the whole Paper, and the contrary to *Holland*, yet this could have no ill Consequence, as long as the Queen and States took care to understand each other; and to act with as little Reserve as became two Powers so nearly allyed in Interest; which Rule should on the part of *Britain* be inviolably observed. It was signifyed likewise to the Pensionary; That, the Duke of *Marlborough* had no Communication of this Affair from *England*; and, that it was supposed He would have none from the *Hague*. After these Proposals had been considered in *Holland*, the Ambassador was directed to send back the Opinion of the *Dutch* Ministers upon them.

THE Court here was indeed apprehensive, that the Pensionary would be alarmed at the whole Frame of Mons. *de Torcy*'s Paper; and particularly at those Expressions, "That "the *English* shall have real Securities for their Trade *&c.* "And, that the Barrier for the States General shall be such as "*England* shall agree upon and approve." It was natural to think, that the Fear which the *Dutch* would conceive of our obtaining advantageous Terms for *Britain*, might put them upon trying under hand for themselves; and endeavouring to overreach us in the management of the Peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the War: The Ambassadour was therefore cautioned to be very watchful in discovering any Workings which might tend that way.

WHEN the Lord *Raby* was first sent to the *Hague*, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townshend* had for very obvious

Reasons used their utmost Endeavours to involve him in as many Difficulties as they could; upon which and other Accounts needless to mention, it was thought proper, that His Grace (then in *Flanders*) should not be let into the Secret of this Affair.

THE *French* Proposal of *Aix* or *Liege* for a Place of Treaty, was only a farther Mark of their old Discontent against *Holland*; to shew that they would not name any Town which belonged to the States.

THE Pensionary, having consulted those who had been formerly employ'd in the Negociations of Peace, and enjoyned them the utmost Secrecy to avoid the Jealousie of the foreign Ministers there; desired the Ambassador to return Her Majesty Thanks for the obliging manner of communicating the *French* Overtures; for the Confidence She placed in the States; and for her Promise of making no Step towards a Peace, but in concert with them; assuring her of the like on their part. That, although the States endeavour to hide it from the Enemy, they were as weary of the War as we; and very heartily desirous of a good and lasting Peace, as well as ready to join in any Method by which Her Majesty should think proper to obtain it. That, they (the States) looked upon these Propositions as very dark and general; and they observed, how the Enemy would create Jealousies between the Queen, their Republick, and the other Allies: But, they were satisfyed it would have no Effect; and relyed entirely on the Justice and Prudence of Her Majesty; who they doubted not, would make the *French* explain themselves more particularly in the several Points of their Proposals; and send a Plan of the particular Conditions whereupon they would make a Peace; after which the States would be ready either to join with Her Majesty, or to make their Objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the Facility imaginable towards promoting so good a Work.

THIS is the Summ of the Verbal Answer made by the Pensionary upon communicating to Him the *French* Proposals; And, I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the Ambassador some days after; which was

more in form, and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my Opinion not so well discovering the true Disposition of the *Dutch* Ministers.

FOR, after the Queen had transmitted the *French* Overtures to *Holland*; and the States found Her Majesty was bent in earnest upon the Thoughts of a Peace; they began to cast about how to get the Negociation into their own hands. They knew, that whatever Power received the first Proposals, would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves; as They had done in their own Case, both at the *Hague*, and *Gertruydenberg*; where they carved as they pleased, without any regard to the Interests of their nearest Allies. For this Reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the *British* Court with Expostulations upon the several Preliminaries sent from *France*; Mons. *Petcum*, a forward medling Agent of *Holstein*, who had resided some years in *Holland*, negotiated with *Heinsius* the Grand Pensionary, as well as with *Vanderdussen* and *Buys*, about restoring the Conferences between *France* and that Republick, broke off at *Gertruydenberg*. Pursuant to which, about the end of *May* N. S. 1711 *Petcum* wrote to the Marquis *de Torcy* with the privity of the Pensioner, and probably of the other Two. The Substance of his Letter was, to inform the Marquis, that Things might easily be disposed, so as to settle a Correspondence between that Crown and the Republick, in order to renew the Treaty of Peace. That, this could be done with the greater Secrecy, because Mons. *Heinsius* by virtue of his Oath as Pensionary, might keep any Affair private as long as he thought necessary; and was not obliged to communicate it, untill he believed Things were ripe; and as long as he concealed it from his Masters, he was not bound to discover it either to the Ministers of the Emperour, or those of Her *British* Majesty. That, since *England* thought it proper for King *Charles* to continue the whole Campagne in *Catalonia* (though he should be chosen Emperour) in order to support the War in *Spain*; it was necessary for *France* to treat in the most secret manner with the States, who were not now so violent as formerly against leaving *Philip* on the *Spanish* Throne, upon certain Conditions for securing their Trade: But, were jealous

of *England*'s Design to fortify some trading Towns in *Spain* for themselves. That, *Heinsius* extremely desired to get out of the War, for some Reasons which He (*Petcum*) was not permitted to tell; and that *Vanderdussen* and *Buys* were impatient to have the Negociations with *France* once more sett on foot; which, if Monsieur *Torcy* thought fit to consent to, *Petcum* engaged that the States would determine to settle the Preliminaries in the mid-way between *Paris* and the *Hague*, with whatever Ministers the Most Christian King should please to employ. But, Mons. *Torcy* refused this Overture; and in his Answer to Mons. *Petcum* assigned for the Reason, the Treatment his Master's former Proposals had met with at the *Hague*, and *Gertruydenberg*, from the Ministers of *Holland*.

Britain and *Holland* seemed pretty well agreed, that those Proposals were too loose and imperfect to be a Foundation for entring upon a General Treaty; and Mons. *Gaultier* was desired to signify to the *French* Court, that it was expected they should explain themselves more particularly upon the several Articles.

But, in the mean time, the Queen was firmly resolved, that the Interests of her own Kingdoms should not be neglected at this Juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the *Dutch* were principal Managers of a Negociation with *France*: Her Majesty had given early and frequent notice to the States of the general Dispositions in her People towards a Peace; of her own Inability to continue the War upon the old foot, under the Disadvantages of unequal Quotas, and the universal Backwardness of her Allies. She had likewise informed them of several Advances made to Her on the side of *France*, which she had refused to hearken to, till she had consulted with those her good Friends and Confederates, and heard their Opinion upon that subject. But, the *Dutch* who apprehended nothing more than to see *Britain* at the Head of a Treaty, were backward and sullen; disliked all Proposals by the Queen's Intervention; and said, It was a piece of Artifice used by *France* to divide the Allies. Besides, they knew the Ministry was but young; and the opposite Faction had given them Assurances, that the People of *England* would never endure a Peace without *Spain*;

nor the Men in Power dare to attempt it, after the Resolutions of one house of Parliament to the contrary. But, in the midst of this Unwillingness to receive any Overtures from *France* by the Queen's hands, the *Dutch* Ministers were actually engaged in a Correspondence with that Court; where they urged our Inability to begin a Treaty, by reason of those Factions which themselves had inflamed: And were ready to commence a Negociation upon much easier Terms than what they supposed we Demanded. For, not to mention the Duke of *Loraine*'s Interposition in behalf of *Holland*, which *France* absolutely refused to accept; The Letters sent from the *Dutch* to that Court were shewn some Months after to a *British* Minister there; which gave much Weight to Mons. *Torcy*'s Insinuations; That he knew where to meet with more Complyance, if the Necessity of Affairs should force him to it by our Refusal. And the Violence of the States against our entertaining that Correspondence, was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least untill ours were thrown off.

THE Queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own Kingdoms; And, having therefore prepared such Demands for her principal Allies, as might be a Ground for proceeding to a General Treaty, without pretending to adjust their several Interests; She resolved to stipulate in a particular manner the Advantages of *Britain*. The following Preliminary Demands were accordingly drawn up in order to be transmitted to *France*.

Great Britain will not enter into any Negociation of Peace, otherwise than upon these Conditions obtained before-hand:

THAT, the Union of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* shall be prevented: That, Satisfaction shall be given to all the Allies; and Trade settled and maintained.

IF *France* be disposed to treat upon this View, it is not to be doubted, that the following Propositions will be found reasonable.

A BARRIER shall be formed in the *Low Countries* for the States General; and their Trade shall be secured.

A BARRIER shall be formed likewise for the Empire.

THE Pretensions of all the Allies founded upon former

Treaties shall be regulated and determined to their general Satisfaction.

In order to make a more equal Balance of Power in *Italy*, the Demains and Territories which in the Beginning of the present War belonged to the Duke of *Savoy*, and are now in the Possession of *France*, shall be restored to His Royal Highness; And, such other Places in *Italy* shall be yielded to him, as will be found necessary and agreeable to the Sence of former Treaties made with this Prince.

As to *Great Britain* in particular, the Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms according to the present Establishment, shall be acknowleged.

A new Treaty of Commerce between *Great Britain* and *France* shall be made after the most just and reasonable manner.

Dunkirk shall be Demolished.

Gibraltar and *Port-Mahon* shall remain in the Hands of the present Possessors.

The *English* shall have the Assiento in the same manner that the *French* now enjoy it: And such Places in the *Spanish West-Indies* shall be assigned to those concerned in this Traffick, for the Refreshment and Sale of their Negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

All Advantages Rights and Privileges already granted, or which may hereafter be granted by *Spain* to the Subjects of *France*, or to any other Nation whatsoever, shall be equally granted to the Subjects of *Great-Britain*.

And, for better Securing the *British* Trade in the *Spanish West-Indies*, certain Places to be named in the Treaty of Peace shall be put into possession of the *English*.

Newfoundland with the *Bay* and *Streights* of *Hudson*, shall be entirely restored to the *English*: And *Great Britain* and *France* shall severally keep and possess all those Countries and Territories in *North-America*, which each of the said Nations shall be in possession of at the time when the Ratification of this Treaty shall be published in those Parts of the World.

These Demands and all other Proceedings between *Great Britain* and *France*, shall be kept inviolably secret,

untill they be published by the mutual Consent of both Parties.

THIS last Article was not only intended for avoiding, if possible, the Jealousy of the *Dutch*; but to prevent the Clamour of their Abettors here at Home; who under the pretended Fears of our doing Injustice to the States, by acting without the privity of that Republick in order to make a Separate Peace; would be ready to drive on the worst Designs against the Queen and Ministry, in order to recover the Power they had lost.

IN *June* 1711 Mr. PRIOR a Person of great Distinction, not only on account of his Wit, but for his Abilities in the management of Affairs; and who had been formerly employed at the *French* Court, was dispatched thither by Her Majesty with the foregoing Demands. This Gentleman was received at *Versailles* with great Civilities. The King declared that no Proceeding in order to a General Treaty would be so agreeable to him, as by Intervention of *England*: And, that His Majesty being desirous to contribute with all his Power towards the Repose of *Europe*, did answer to the Demands which had been made; That, He would consent freely and sincerely to all just and reasonable Methods for hindring the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* from being ever united under the same Prince; His Majesty being persuaded, that such an Excess of Power would be as contrary to the general Good and Repose of *Europe*, as it was opposite to the Will of the late Catholick King, *Charles* the Second. He said, his Intention was, that all Parties concerned in the present War should find their reasonable Satisfaction in the intended Treaty of Peace; And, that Trade should be settled and maintained for the future to the Advantage of those Nations which formerly possessed it.

THAT, as the King will exactly observe the Conditions of Peace, whenever it shall be concluded; and as the Object he proposeth to himself, is to secure the Frontiers of his own Kingdom, without giving any sort of Disturbance to his Neighbours; He promiseth to agree, that by the future Treaty of Peace the *Dutch* shall be put into possession of

all such fortifyed Places, as shall be specifyed in the said Treaty to serve for a Barrier to that Republick against all Attempts on the side of *France*. He engages likewise to give all necessary Securities for removing the Jealousies raised among the *German* Princes, of His Majesty's Designs.

THAT, when the Conferences in order to a General Treaty shall be formed; all the Pretensions of the several Princes and States engaged in the present War shall be fairly and amicably discussed; nor shall any thing be omitted, which may regulate and determine them to the Satisfaction of all Parties.

THAT, pursuant to the Demands made by *England*; His Majesty promiseth to restore to the Duke of *Savoy* those Demesnes and Territories which belonged to that Prince at the Beginning of this War; and which His Majesty is now in possession of. And, the King consents further, that such other Places in *Italy* shall be yielded to the Duke of *Savoy*, as shall be found necessary, according to the Sence of those Treaties made between the said Duke and his Allies.

THAT, the King's Sentiments of the present Government of *Great Britain*, the open Declaration he had made in *Holland* of his Resolution to treat the Peace by Applications to the *English*; the Assurances he had given of engaging the King of *Spain* to leave *Gibraltar* in our hands, (all which are convincing proofs of his perfect Esteem for a Nation still in War with him) leave no room to doubt of His Majesty's Inclination to give *England* all Securities and Advantages for their Trade which they can reasonably demand: But, as His Majesty cannot persuade himself, that a Government so clear-sighted as Ours will insist upon Conditions which must absolutely destroy the Trade of *France* and *Spain*, as well as that of all other Nations of *Europe*; he thinks the Demands made by *Great-Britain* may require a more particular Discussion.

THAT, upon this Foundation, the King thought the best way of advancing and perfecting a Negociation, the Beginning of which he had seen with so much Satisfaction, would be to send into *England* a Person instructed in his Intentions,

and authorized by Him to agree upon Securities for settling the Trade of the Subjects of *England*, and those particular Advantages to be stipulated in their favour without destroying the Trade of the *French* and *Spaniards*, or of other Nations in *Christendom*.

THAT therefore, His Majesty had charged the Person chosen for this Commission, to answer the other Articles of the Memorial given Him by Mr. *Prior*, the Secret of which should be exactly observed.

MONS. *de Torcy* had for some years past used all Endeavours to incline his Master towards a Peace pursuant to the Maxim of his Uncle *Colbert*; That a long War was not for the Interest of *France*. It was for this Reason, the King made choice of him in the Conferences at the *Hague*; the bad Success whereof, although it fill'd him with Resentments against the *Dutch*, did not alter his Opinion: But he was violently opposed by a Party both in the Court and Kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sacrifice the Glory of their Prince and Country by too large Concessions; or perhaps would rather wish that the first Offers should have been still made to the *Dutch*, as a People who were likely to be less solicitous about the Interest of *Britain*, than Her Majesty would certainly be for theirs. And, the particular Design of Mr. *Prior*'s Journey was to find out whether that Minister had Credit enough with his Prince, and a Support from others in Power, sufficient to overrule the Faction against Peace.

MR. *Prior*'s Journey could not be kept a Secret, as the Court here at first seemed to intend it. He was discovered at his return by an Officer of the Port at *Dover*, where he landed after Six Weeks absence; upon which the *Dutch* Gazettes and *English* News-papers were full of Speculations.

AT the same time with Mr. *Prior* there arrived from *France* Mons. *Mesnager*, Knight of the Order of St. *Michael*, and one of the Council of Trade to the Most Christian King. His Commission was in general empowering him to treat with the Ministers of any Prince engaged in the War against his Master. In his first Conferences with the Queen's Ministers, he pretended Orders to insist, that Her Majesty should enter upon

particular Engagements in several Articles, which did not depend upon her; but concerned only the Interests of the Allies reciprocally with those of the Most Christian King: whereas, the Negociation had begun upon this Principle; That, *France* should consent to adjust the Interests of *Great Britain* in the first place; whereby Her Majesty would be afterwards enabled by her good Offices on all sides to facilitate the General Peace. The Queen resolved never to depart from this Principle, but was absolutly determined to remitt the particular Interests of the Allies to general Conferences; where she would do the utmost in her power to procure the Repose of *Europe*, and the Satisfaction of all Parties. It was plain, that *France* could run no hazard by this Proceeding; because the Preliminary Articles would have no force before a General Peace were signed. Therefore it was not doubted but Mons. *Mesnager* would have Orders to wave this new Pretension, and go on in treating upon that foot, which was at first proposed. In short, the Ministers required a positive and speedy Answer to the Articles in question; since they contained only such Advantages and Securities as Her Majesty thought she had a right to require from any Prince whatsoever, to whom the Dominions of *Spain* should happen to fall.

THE particular Demands of *Britain* were formed into Eight Articles, which Mons. *Mesnager* having transmitted to his Court, and received new Powers from thence; had Orders to give his Master's Consent by way of Answers to the several Points, to be obligatory only after a General Peace. These Demands, together with the Answers of the *French* King, were drawn up and signed by Mons. *Mesnager* and Her Majesty's Two Principal Secretaries of State; whereof I shall here present an Extract to the Reader.

IN the Preamble, the Most Christian King setts forth; That being particularly informed by the last Memorial which the *British* Ministers delivered to Mons. *Mesnager*, of the Dispositions of this Crown to facilitate a General Peace, to the Satisfaction of the several Parties concerned; and His Majesty finding, in effect, as the said Memorial declares, that he runs no hazard by engaging himself in the manner there

expressed; since the Preliminary Articles will be of no force, untill the signing of the General Peace: And, being sincerely desirous to advance, to the utmost of his Power the Repose of *Europe*, especially by a way so agreeable as the Interposition of a Princess, whom so many Tyes of Blood ought to unite to him; and whose Sentiments for the publick Tranquility cannot be doubted: His Majesty moved by these Considerations hath ordered Mons. *Mesnager* Knight *&c.* to give the following Answers in writing to the Articles contained in the Memorial transmitted to Him; Entitled, *Preliminary Demands for* Great Britain *in particular.*

THE Articles were these that follow:

FIRST, The Succession to the Crown to be acknowleged according to the present Establishment.

SECONDLY, a new Treaty of Commerce between *Great-Britain* and *France* to be made after the most just and reasonable manner.

THIRDLY, *Dunkirk* to be Demolished.

FOURTHLY, *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to continue in the hands of those who now possess them.

FIFTHLY, The Assiento (or Liberty of selling Negroes to the *Spanish* West-Indies) to be granted to the *English*, in as full a manner as the *French* possess it at present; And such Places in the said *West-Indies* to be assigned to the Persons concerned in this Trade, for the Refreshment and Sale of their Negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

SIXTHLY, Whatever Advantages Priviledges and Rights are already or may hereafter be granted by *Spain* to the Subjects of *France* or of any other Nation, shall be equally granted to the Subjects of *Great Britain.*

SEVENTHLY, For better protecting their Trade in the *Spanish* West-Indies, the *English* shall be put into possession of such Places as shall be named in the Treaty of Peace.

OR as an Equivalent for this Article, That the Assiento be granted to *Britain* for the Term of Thirty Years. That the Isle of *St. Christophers* be likewise secured to the *English.*

THAT, the Advantages and Exemption from Duties promised by Mons. *Mesnager*, which he affirms will amount

to fifteen *per Cent.* upon all Goods of the Growth and Manufacture of *Britain*, be effectually allowed.

THAT, whereas on the side of the River of *Plate* the *English* are not in possession of any Colony; a certain Extent of Territory be allowed them in the said River for refreshing and keeping their Negroes 'till they are sold to the *Spaniards*; subject nevertheless to the Inspection of an Officer appointed by *Spain*.

EIGHTHLY, *Newfoundland* and the Bay and Streights of *Hudson* shall be entirely restored to the *English*; And *Great Britain* and *France* shall respectively keep whatever Dominions in *North-America*, each of them shall be in possession of when the Ratification of this Treaty shall be published in those Parts of the World.

THE Six first Articles were allowed without any Difficulty, except that about *Dunkirk* where *France* was to have an Equivalent to be settled in a general Treaty.

DIFFICULTIES arising upon the Seventh Article; the proposed Equivalent was allowed in stead thereof.

THE last Article was referred to the General Treaty of Peace; only the *French* insisted to have the Power of fishing for Codd, and drying them on the Island of *Newfoundland*.

THESE Articles were to be looked upon as Conditions which the Most Christian King consented to allow; and whenever a General Peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual Form of a Treaty, to the Satisfaction of both Crowns.

THE Queen having thus provided for the Security and Advantage of her own Kingdoms, whenever a Peace should be made; and upon Terms no way interfering with the Interest of her Allies; The next Thing in order was to procure from *France* such Preliminary Articles as might be a Ground upon which to commence a General Treaty. These were adjusted and signed the same Day with the Former; and having been delivered to the several Ministers residing here from the Powers in Alliance with *England*, were quickly made publick. But the various Constructions and Censures

which passed upon them have made it necessary to give the Reader the following Transcript:*

"THE King being willing to contribute all that is in his "Power, to the Re-establishing of the general Peace, his "Majesty declares,

"I. THAT he will acknowledge the Queen of *Great-Britain* "in that Quality, as also the Succession of that Crown, accord- "ing to the present Settlement.

"II. THAT he will freely, and *bonâ fide*, consent to the taking "of all just and reasonable Measures, for hindering that the "Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may ever be united on the Head "of the same Prince; his Majesty being persuaded, that this "Excess of Power would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of "*Europe*.

"III. THE King's Intention is, that all the Parties engaged "in the present War, without excepting any of them, may "find their reasonable Satisfaction in the Treaty of Peace, "which shall be made: That Commerce may be re-established "and maintained for the future, to the Advantage of *Great-* "*Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other Nations, who have been "accustomed to exercise Commerce.

"IV. AS the King will likewise maintain exactly the "Observation of the Peace, when it shall be concluded, and the "Object, which the King proposeth to himself, being to "secure the Frontiers of his Kingdom, without disturbing "in any Manner whatever the neighbouring States, he promiseth "to agree, by the Treaty which shall be made, that the *Dutch* "shall be put in Possession of the fortified Places, which shall "be mentioned, in the *Netherlands*, to serve hereafter for a "Barrier; which may secure the Quiet of the Republick of "*Holland* against any Enterprize from the Part of *France*.

"V. THE King consenteth likewise, that a secure and "convenient Barrier should be formed for the Empire, and "for the House of *Austria*.

"VI. NOTWITHSTANDING *Dunkirk* cost the King very

* In the MS. there is a note: [Here follows a Translation of the Preliminary Articles from France]. The text of the Articles is taken from Faulkner, IX, 90–91.

"great Sums, as well to purchase it, as to fortify it; and that it "is further necessary to be at very considerable Expence for "razing the Works, his Majesty is willing however to engage "to cause them to be demolished, immediately after the "Conclusion of the Peace, on Condition, that, for the Fortifica- "tions of that Place, a proper Equivalent, that may content "him, be given him: And, as *England* cannot furnish that "Equivalent, the Discussion of it shall be referred to the "Conferences to be held for the Negotiation of the Peace.

"VII. WHEN the Conferences for the Negotiation of the "Peace shall be formed, all the Pretensions of the Princes and "States, engaged in the present War, shall be therein discussed "*bonâ fide*, and amicably: And nothing shall be omitted to "regulate and terminate them, to the Satisfaction of all the "Parties.

MESNAGER."

THESE Overtures are founded upon the Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance made in 1701, wherein are contained the Conditions, without which a Peace is not to be made. And, whoever compares both, will find the Preliminaries to reach every Point proposed in that Article; which those who have censured them at home, if they spoke their Thoughts, did not understand. For, nothing can be plainer than what the Publick hath often been told; That, the Recovery of *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon* was a thing never imagined when the War began, but a just and reasonable Satisfaction to the Emperour; much less ought such a Condition to be held necessary at present, not only because it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable, but likewise because by the Changes in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* Families, it would not be Safe. Neither did those, who were loudest in blaming the *French* Preliminaries know any thing of the Advantages privatly stipulated for *Britain*, whose Interests they assured us were all made a Sacrifice to the Corruption or Folly of the Managers: And therefore, because the Opposers of Peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have

changed their Battery, and accused the Ministers for betraying the *Dutch*.

THE Lord *Raby* Her Majesty's Ambassadour at the *Hague* having made a short Journey to *England*, where he was created Earl of *Strafford*; went back to *Holland* about the beginning of *October* 1711 with the above Preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the Pensionary and other Ministers of the States. The Earl was instructed to let them know, that the Queen had according to their Desire returned an Answer to the first Propositions signed by Mons. *Torcy*; signifying, that the *French* Offers were thought both by Her Majesty and the States neither so particular nor so full as they ought to be; and insisting to have a distinct Project formed of such a Peace as the Most Christian King would be willing to conclude. That, this Affair having been for some time transacted by Papers, and thereby subject to Delays; Mons. *Mesnager* was at length sent over by *France*, and had signed those Preliminaries now communicated to them. That, the several Articles did not indeed contain such particular Concessions as *France* must and will make in the Course of a Treaty; but that however, Her Majesty thought them a sufficient Foundation whereupon to open the general Conferences.

THAT, Her Majesty was unwilling to be charged with determining the several Interests of her Allies; and therefore contented herself with such general Offers as might include all the particular Demands proper to be made during the Treaty; where the Confederates must resolve to adhere firmly together, in order to obtain from the Enemy the Utmost that could be hoped for in the present Circumstances of Affairs. Which Rule Her Majesty assured the States, She would on Her part firmly observe.

IF the Ministers of *Holland* should express any Uneasiness, that Her Majesty may have settled the Interests of her own Kingdoms in a future Peace by any private Agreement; The Ambassador was ordered to say; that the Queen had hitherto refused to have the Treaty carryed on in her own Kingdom; and would continue to do so, unless they (the *Dutch*) constrained her to take another Measure: That, by these means the

States and the rest of the Allies would have the Opportunity of treating and adjusting their different Pretensions; which Her Majesty would promote with all the Zeal she had shewn for the Common Good, and the particular Advantage of that Republick (as they must do Her the Justice to confess) in the whole Course of her Reign. That, the Queen had made no Stipulation for Herself, which might clash with the Interests of *Holland*; and that the Articles to be inserted in a future Treaty for the Benefit of *Britain*, were for the most part such as contained Advantages which must either be continued to the Enemy, or be obtained by Her Majesty. But however, that no Concessions should tempt her to hearken to a Peace, unless her good Friends and Allies the States General had all reasonable Satisfaction as to their Trade and Barrier, as well as in all other respects.

AFTER these Assurances given in the Queen's name, the Earl was to insinuate, That Her Majesty should have just reason to be offended, and to think the Proceeding between Her and the States very unequal, if they should pretend to have any farther Uneasiness upon this Head. That, being determined to accept no Advantages to Herself repugnant to their Interests, nor any Peace without their reasonable Satisfaction, the Figure she had made during the whole Course of the War, and the Part she had acted superior to Any of the Allies, who were more concerned in Danger and Interest; might justly entitle Her to settle the Concerns of *Great Britain*, before she would consent to a General Negociation.

IF the States should object the Engagements, that the Queen was under by Treaties, of making no Peace but in concert, with them; or the particular Obligations of the Barrier-Treaty; The Ambassadour was to answer, That as to the former, Her Majesty had not in any sort acted contrary thereto: That, She was so far from making a Peace without their Consent, as to declare her firm Resolution not to make it without their Satisfaction; And, that what had passed between *France* and Her, amounted to no more than an Introduction to a general Treaty: As to the latter, the Earl had Orders to represent very

earnestly, How much it was even for the Interest of *Holland* itself rather to compound the Advantages of the Barrier-Treaty, than to insist upon the whole; which the House of *Austria* and several other Allies would never consent to: That Nothing could be more Odious to the People of *England* than many Parts of this Treaty, which would have raised universal Indignation, if the utmost Care had not been used to quiet the Minds of those who were acquainted with the Terms of that Guaranty; and to conceal them from those who were not: That, it was absolutly necessary to maintain a good Harmony between both Nations, without which it would be impossible at any time to form a Strength for reducing an exorbitant Power, or preserving the Balance of *Europe*. From whence it followed, That it could not be the true Interest of either Country to insist upon any Conditions which might give just Apprehensions to the other.

That, *France* had proposed *Utrecht*, *Nimeguen*, *Aix*, or *Liege* wherein to hold the General Treaty; And Her Majesty was ready to send Her Plenipotentiaries to which-ever of those Towns the States should approve.

If the Imperial Ministers, or those of the other Allies should object against the Preliminaries, as no sufficient Ground for opening the Conferences; and insist, that *France* should consent to such Articles as were signed on the part of the Allies in the year 1709; the Earl of *Strafford* was in answer directed to insinuate; That, the *French* might have probably been brought to explain themselves more particularly had they not perceived the Uneasiness, Impatience and Jealousy among the Allies, during our Transactions with that Court. However, He should declare to them in the Queen's name, That, if they were determined to accept a Peace upon no Terms inferior to what were formerly demanded; Her Majesty was ready to concurr with them; but would no longer bear those Disproportions of Expence yearly increased upon Her; nor the Deficiency of the Confederates in every part of the War. That, it was therefore incumbent upon Them to furnish for the future such Quotas of Ships and Forces, as they were now wanting in; and to increase their Expence, while

Her Majesty reduced Hers to a reasonable and just Proportion.

THAT, if the Ministers of *Vienna* and *Holland* should urge their Inability upon this Head; the Queen insisted They ought to comply with Her in War, or in Peace; Her Majesty desiring nothing as to the first, but what they Ought to perform, and what is absolutly necessary: And as to the latter, that She had done, and would to the last continue to do the utmost in her Power, towards obtaining such a Peace, as might be to the Satisfaction of all her Allies.

SOME days after the Earl of *Strafford*'s Departure to *Holland*, Mons. *Buys*, Pensionary of *Amsterdam*, arrived here from thence, with Instructions from his Masters to treat upon the Subject of the *French* Preliminaries, and the Methods for carrying on the War. In his first Conference with a Committee of Council, He objected against all the Articles as too general and uncertain; and against some of them as prejudicial. He said, The *French* promising that Trade should be re-established and maintained for the future, was meant in order to deprive the *Dutch* of their Tariff of 1664; For, the Plenipotentiaries of that Crown would certainly expound the Word *Rétablir* to signify no more than restoring the Trade of the States to the Condition it was in, immediately before the Commencement of the present War: He said, That in the Article of *Dunkirk*, the Destruction of the Harbour was not mentioned; And that the Fortifications were only to be razed upon Condition of an Equivalent; which might occasion a Difference between Her Majesty and the States; since *Holland* would think it hard to have a Town less in their Barrier for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; and *England* would complain to have this Thorn continue in their side, for the sake of giving one Town more to the *Dutch*.

LASTLY; He Objected, That where the *French* promised, effectual Methods should be taken to prevent the Union of *France* and *Spain* under the same King; they offered nothing at all for the Cession of *Spain*, which was the most important Point of the War.

FOR these Reasons Mons. *Buys* hoped, Her Majesty would

alter her Measures, and demand Specifick Articles, upon which the Allies might debate whether they would consent to a Negociation or no.

THE Queen, who looked upon all these Difficulties, raised about the Method of Treating, as Endeavours to wrest the Negociation out of her hands; commanded the Lords of the Committee to let Mons. *Buys* know; That the Experience she formerly had of proceeding by particular Preliminaries towards a general Treaty, gave her no Encouragement to repeat the same Method any more: That, such a Preliminary Treaty must be negociated either by some particular Allies, or by all: The first Her Majesty could never suffer; since She would neither take upon her to settle the Interests of Others, nor submit that Others should settle those of her Own Kingdoms. As to the second, it was liable to Mons. *Buys*'s Objection; because, the Ministers of *France* would have as fair an Opportunity of sowing Divisions among the Allies, when they were all assembled upon a Preliminary Treaty, as when the Conferences were opened for a Negociation of Peace: That, this Method could therefore have no other Effect than to delay the Treaty, without any Advantage: That, Her Majesty was heartily disposed both then and during the Negociation, to insist on every thing necessary for securing the Barrier and Commerce of the States; and therefore hoped the Conferences might be opened, without farther Difficulties.

THAT, Her Majesty did not only consent but desire to have a Plan settled for carrying on the War, as soon as the Negociation of Peace should begin; but expected to have the Burthen more equally laid, and more agreeable to Treaties; And would join with the States in pressing the Allies to perform their Parts, as She had endeavoured to animate them by Her Example.

MONS. *Buys* seemed to know little of his Masters Mind; and pretended he had no Power to conclude upon any thing. Her Majesty's Minister proposed to him an Allyance between the Two Nations to subsist after a Peace: To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having Authority to do no more. His Intention was, that he

might appear to negociate, in order to gain time; to pick out, if possible, the whole Secret of the Transactions between *Britain* and *France*; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his Masters to any Conditions; to seek Delays till the Parliament met, and then observe what Turn it took, and what would be the Issue of those frequent Cabals between himself and some other foreign Ministers, in conjunction with the Chief Leaders of the discontented Faction. The *Dutch* hoped, that the Clamours raised against the Proceedings of the Queen's Ministers towards a Peace, would make the Parliament disapprove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the Head of the Negociation; which the Queen did not think fit to have any more in their Hands, where it had miscarryed twice already; Although Prince *Eugene* himself owned, that *France* was then disposed to conclude a Peace upon such Conditions as *it was not worth the Life of a Grenadier* to refuse them. As to insisting upon Specifick Preliminaries, Her Majesty thought her own Method much better, for each Ally in the Course of the Negociation to advance and manage his own Pretensions; wherein She would support and assist them; rather than for Two Ministers of One Ally to treat solely with the Enemy, and report what they please to the rest; as was practised by the *Dutch* at *Gertruydenberg*.

ONE Part of Mons. *Buys*'s Instructions was to desire the Queen not to be so far amused by a Treaty of Peace as to neglect her Preparation for War against the next Campagne. Her Majesty, who was firmly resolved against submitting any longer to that unequal Burthen of Expence She had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to debate the Matter with that Minister; who said, He had no Power to treat; only insisted, that his Masters had fully done their Part; And that nothing but Exhortations could be used to prevail on the other Allies to act with greater Vigour.

ON the other side, the Queen refused to concert any Plan for the prosecution of the War, untill the States would join with her in agreeing to open the Conferences of Peace; which therefore by Mons. *Buys*'s application to them, was accord-

ingly done, by a Resolution taken in *Holland* upon the 21st of *November* N. S. 1711.

ABOUT this time, the Count *de Gallas* was forbid the Court by Order from the Queen, who sent him word, That She looked upon Him no longer as a publick Minister.

THIS Gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable Part here in *England*; altogether inconsistent with the Character he bore, of Envoy from the late and present Emperours; two Princes under the strictest Tyes of Gratitude to the Queen; especially the latter, who had then the Title of King of *Spain*. Count *Gallas*, about the end of *August* 1711 with the utmost Privacy dispatched an *Italian*, one of his Clerks, to *Francfort*, where the Earl of *Peterborow* was then expected. This Man was instructed to pass for a *Spaniard*, and insinuate himself into the Earl's Service, which he accordingly did; and gave constant Information to the last Emperour's Secretary at *Francfort*, of all he could gather up in His Lordship's Family, as well as Copies of several Letters he had transcribed. It was likewise Discovered, that *Gallas* had in his Dispatches to the present Emperour then in *Spain*, represented the Queen and her Ministers as not to be confided in: That, when Her Majesty had dismissed the Earl of *Sunderland*, She promised to proceed no farther in the Change of her Servants; yet soon after turned them all out; and thereby ruined the publick Credit, as well as abandoned *Spain*: That, the present Ministers wanted the Abilities and good Dispositions of the former; were Persons of ill Designs, and Enemies to the Common Cause; and He (*Gallas*) could not trust them. In his Letters to Count *Zinzendorf*, he had said, That Mr. Secretary *St. John* complained of the House of *Austria*'s Backwardness, only to make the King of *Spain* odious in *England*, and the People here desirous of a Peace, although it were ever so bad a one: To prevent which, Count *Gallas* drew up a Memorial, which he intended to give the Queen; and transmitted a Draught of it to *Zinzendorf* for his Advice and Approbation. This Memorial, among other great Promises to encourage the Continuance of the War, proposed the detaching a good Body of Troops from *Hungary* to serve in *Italy* or *Spain* as the Queen should

think fit. *Zinzendorf* thought this too bold a Step without consulting the Emperour; to which *Gallas* replyed, That his Design was only to engage the Queen to go on with the War: That, *Zinzendorf* knew how earnestly the *English* and *Dutch* had pressed to have those Troops from *Hungary*; and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those Two Nations; after which, several ways might be found to elude that Promise; and in the mean time, the great Point would be gained of bringing the *English* to declare for continuing the War: That, the Emperour might afterwards excuse himself by Apprehensions of a War in *Hungary*, or of that between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*: That, if these Excuses should be at an end, a Detachment of one or two Regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred, by pretending Want of Money; by which the Queen would probably be brought to maintain some Part of those Troops, and perhaps the whole Body. He added, That this way of Management was very common among the Allies; and gave for an Example, the Forces which the *Dutch* had promised for the Service of *Spain*, but were never sent; with several other Instances of the same kind, which he said might be produced. Her Majesty, who had long suspected, that Count *Gallas* was engaged in these or the like Practices, having at last received authentick Proofs of this whole Intrigue from Original Letters, and the voluntary Confession of those who were principally concerned in carrying it on; thought it necessary to shew her Resentment by refusing the Count any more Access to Her Person, or Her Court.

ALTHOUGH the Queen, as it hath been already observed, were resolved to open the Conferences upon the general Preliminaries; yet She thought it would very much forward the Peace, To know what were the utmost Concessions which *France* would make to the several Allies; but especially to the States General, and the Duke of *Savoy*: Therefore, while Her Majesty was pressing the former to agree to a General Treaty, the Abbé *Gaultier* was sent to *France* with a Memorial, to desire, that the Most Christian King would explain himself upon those Preliminaries, particularly with relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*; whose Satisfaction the Queen had most at heart, as well from

her Friendship to both those Powers, as because, if She might engage to Them that their just Pretensions would be allowed, few Difficulties would remain of any Moment to retard the General Peace.

THE *French* Answer to this Memorial contained several Schemes and Proposals for the Satisfaction of each Ally, coming up very near to what Her Majesty and her Ministers thought reasonable. The greatest Difficulties seemed to be about the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose Interests *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the Queen was for those of the Duke of *Savoy*: However, even These were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

THE States having at length agreed to a General Treaty; the following Particulars were concerted between Her Majesty and that Republick:

THAT, the Congress should be held at *Utrecht*.

THAT, the Opening of the said Congress should be upon the 12th of *January* N. S. 1711–12.

THAT, for avoiding all Inconveniencies of Ceremony, the Ministers of the Queen and States during the Treaty should have only the Characters of Plenipotentiaries; and not take that of Ambassadours, untill the Day on which the Peace should be signed.

LASTLY; The Queen and States insisted, That the Ministers of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the late Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* should not appear at the Congress untill the Points relating to their Masters were adjusted; And were firmly resolved not to send their Pass-ports for the Ministers of *France*, untill the Most Christian King declared, That the Absence of the forementioned Ministers should not delay the Progress of the Negociation.

PURSUANT to the Three former Articles, Her Majesty writt Circular Letters to all the Allies engaged with Her in the present War. And *France* had notice, That as soon as the King declared his Complyance with the Last Article, the Blank Passports should be filled up with the Names of the Marêchal *D'Uxelles*, the Abbé *de Polignac*, and Mons. *Mesnager*; who were appointed Plenipotentiaries for that Crown.

FROM what I have hitherto deduced, the Reader sees the Plan which the Queen thought the most effectual for advancing a Peace. The Conferences were to begin upon the general Preliminaries; the Queen was to be empowered by *France* to offer separatly to the Allies what might be reasonable for each to accept; And Her own Interests being previously settled, She was to act as a General Mediator: a Figure that became Her best, from the Part She had in the War; and more useful to the Great End, at which She aimed, of giving a Safe and Honourable Peace to *Europe*.

BESIDES; It was absolutely necessary for the Interests of *Britain*, that the Queen should be at the Head of the Negociation; without which Her Majesty could find no Expedient to redress the Injuries Her Kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier-Treaty. In order to settle this Point with the States, the Ministers here had a Conference with Mons. *Buys* a few Days before the Parliament met. He was told how Necessary it was by a previous Concert between the Queen and the States, to prevent any Difference which might arise in the Course of the Treaty at *Utrecht*: That, under pretence of a Barrier for the States General as their Security against *France*, infinite Prejudice might arise to the Trade of *Britain* in the *Spanish Netherlands*; For, by the Fifteenth Article of the Barrier-Treaty in consequence of what was Stipulated by that of *Munster*, the Queen was brought to engage; That, Commerce shall not be rendred more easy in point of Duties by the Sea-ports of *Flanders*, than it is by the River *Scheld*, and by the Canals on the side of the Seven Provinces: Which, as Things now stood, was very Unjust. For while the Towns in *Flanders* were in the Hands of *France* or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and We traded to them upon an equal Foot; but now, since by the Barrier-Treaty those Towns were to be possessed by the States, that Republick might lay what Duties they pleased upon *British* Goods after passing by *Ostend*, and make their own Custom-free; which would utterly ruine our whole Trade with *Flanders*. Upon this the Lords told Mr. *Buys* very frankly; That, if the States expected the Queen should support their Treaty of Barrier, as well as their Demands from *France* and

the House of *Austria* upon that Head; they ought to agree, that the Subjects of *Britain* should Trade as freely to all the Countries and Places, which by virtue of any former or future Treaty were to become the Barrier of the States, as they did in the time of the late King *Charles* II. of *Spain*, or as the Subjects of the States General themselves shall do. And, that it was hoped, their High Mightinesses would never scruple to rectify a Mistake so injurious to that Nation, without whose Blood and Treasure they would have had no Barrier at all.

MONS. *Buys* had nothing to answer against these Objections; but said, he had already writt to his Masters for farther Instructions.

GREATER Difficulties occurred about Settling what should be the Barrier to the States after a Peace; the Envoy insisting to have all the Towns that were named in the Treaty of Barrier and Succession, and the Queen's Ministers excepting those Towns, which if they continued in the Possession of the *Dutch*, would render the Trade of *Britain* to *Flanders* Precarious: At length it was Agreed in general; That the States ought to have whatever is really essential to the Security of their Barrier against *France*; and that some amicable Expedient should be found for removing the Fears both of *Britain* and *Holland* upon this Point.

BUT, at the same time Mons. *Buys* was told; That although the Queen would certainly insist to obtain all these Points from *France* in behalf of her Allies the States; yet She hoped his Masters were too reasonable to break off the Treaty rather than not obtain the very utmost of their Demands, which could not be settled here, unless He were fully instructed to speak and conclude upon that Subject: That, Her Majesty thought the best way of securing the Common Interest, and preventing the Division of the Allies by the Artifices of *France*, in the Course of a long Negotiation would be, To concert between the Queen's Ministers and those of the States, with a due Regard to the other Confederates, such a Plan as might amount to a Safe and Honourable Peace: After which the Abbé *de Polignac*, who of the *French* Plenipotentiaries was most in the Secret of his Court, might be told; That it

was in vain to amuse each other any longer; that, on such Terms the Peace would be immediately concluded, and that the Conferences must cease, if those Conditions were not without Delay and without Exception granted.

A TREATY between Her Majesty and the States to subsist after a Peace was now Signed; Mons. *Buys* having received full Powers to that Purpose. His Masters were desirous to have a private Article added *sub sperati* concerning those Terms of Peace without the Granting of which we should Stipulate not to agree with the Enemy: But neither the Character of *Buys*, nor the manner in which he was empowered to Treat, would allow the Queen to enter into such an Engagement. The Congress likewise approaching, there was not time to settle a Point of so great Importance: Neither lastly, would Her Majesty be tyed down by *Holland*, without previous Satisfaction upon several Articles in the Barrier-Treaty, so inconsistent with her Engagements to other Powers in the Alliance, and so injurious to Her own Kingdoms.

THE Lord Privy Seal and the Earl of *Strafford* having, about the Time the Parliament met, been appointed Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries for Treating a General Peace, I shall here break off the Account of any farther Progress made in that great Affair, untill I resume it in the last Book of this History.

L [ib.] 3.

THE House of Commons seem'd resolved from the Beginning of the Session strictly to enquire not only into all Abuses relating to the Accounts of the Army, but likewise into the several Treaties between Us and Our Allies; upon what Articles and Conditions they were first Agreed to, and how these had been since Observed. In the first Week of their Sitting, they sent an Address to the Queen, to desire that the Treaty whereby Her Majesty was obliged to furnish Forty Thousand Men to act in conjunction with the Forces of Her Allies in the *Low Countries*, might be laid before the House: To which the Secretary of State brought an Answer; That, Search had been made, but no Footsteps could be found of any Treaty or Convention for that Purpose. It was this unaccountable Neglect in the former Ministry, which first gave a Pretence to the Allies for lessening their Quotas so much to the Disadvantage of Her Majesty, her Kingdoms, and the Common Cause, in the Course of the War. It had been Stipulated by the Grand Alliance between the Emperour, *Britain*, and the States, That those Three Powers should assist each other with their whole Force; and that the several Proportions should be specified in a particular Convention. But, if any such Convention were made, it was never Ratifyed; only the Parties agreed by common Consent to take each a certain Share of the Burthen upon themselves; which the late King *William* communicated to the House of Commons by his Secretary of State, and which afterwards the other Two Powers, observing the mighty Zeal in our Ministry for prolonging the War, eluded as they pleased.

THE Commissioners for Stating the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom had, in executing their Office the preceding Summer, discovered several Practices relating to the Affairs of the Army, which they drew up into a Report, and delivered to the House.

THE Commons began their Examination of this Report, with a Member of their own; Mr. *Robert Walpole*, already mentioned; who during his being Secretary at War, had received five hundred Guinneas, and taken a Note for five hundred Pounds more, on account of two Contracts for Forage of the Queen's Troops quartered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuse the first Contract; but had nothing to say about the Second. The Fact appeared so plain and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the Author of it guilty of a high Breach of Trust, and notorious Corruption; committed him Prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the End of the Session; and expelled Him the House. He was a Person much caressed by the Opposers of the Queen and Ministry, having been first drawn into their Party by his Indifference to any Principles; and afterwards kept steddy by the loss of his Place. His bold, forward Countenance, altogether a Stranger to that Infirmity which makes Men bashfull, joyned to a Readyness at speaking in Publick, hath justly entitled him among those of his Faction to be a Sort of Leader of the Second Form; and must excuse me for being so particular about one who is otherwise altogether obscure.

ANOTHER Part of this Report concerned the Duke of *Marlborough* who had received large Summs of Money by way of Gratuity, from those who were the Undertakers for providing the Army with Bread. This the Duke excused in a Letter to the Commissioners, from the like Practice of other Generals. But that Excuse appeared to be of little Weight; and the mischievous Consequences of such a Corruption were visible enough; since the Money given by those Undertakers were but Bribes for Connivance at their indirect Dealings with the Army. And, as Frauds that begin at the Top, are apt to spread through all the Subordinate Ranks of those who have any Share in the Management, and to encrease as they circulate; so in this Case for every Thousand Pounds given to the General, the Souldier suffered at least Fourfold.

ANOTHER Article of this Report, relating to the Duke, was yet of more Importance. The greatest Part of Her Majesty's Forces in *Flanders* were Mercenary Troops hired

from several Princes of *Europe*. It was found that the Queen's General substracted Two and a Half *per Cent*. out of the Pay of those Troops, for his own Use; which amounted to a great Annual Summ. The Duke of *Marlborough* in his Letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the Matter, told the Commissioners; That, this Deduction was a Free Gift from the Foreign Troops, which he had negociated with them by the late King's Order, and had obtained the Queen's Warrant for reserving and receiving it: That, it was intended for Secret Service (the Ten Thousand Pounds a Year given by Parliament not proving sufficient) and had all been laid out that way. The Commissioners observed in Answer, That the Warrant was kept dormant for Nine Years (as indeed no Entry of it ever appeared in the Secretary of State's Books) And the Deduction concealed all that time from the Knowledge of the Parliament: That, if it had been a Free Gift from the Foreign Troops, it would not have been Stipulated by Agreement, as the Duke's Letter confessed, and as his Warrant declared; which later affirmed this Stoppage to be intended for defraying Extraordinary Contingent Expences of the Troops, and therefore should not have been applyed to Secret Service: They submitted to the House, Whether the Warrant itself were Legal, or duely Countersigned. The Commissioners added, That no Receipt was ever given for this deducted Money; nor was it mentioned in any Receipts from the Foreign Troops, which were always taken in full: And lastly, That the whole Summ by Computation amounted to near Three Hundred Thousand Pounds.

THE House after a long Debate, Resolved, That the taking several Summs from the Contractors for Bread by the Duke of *Marlborough*, was Unwarrantable and Illegal; And That the Two and Half *per Cent.* deducted from the Foreign Troops was Publick Money, and ought to be accounted for. Which Resolutions were laid before the Queen by the whole House; And Her Majesty promised to do her Part in redressing what was complained of.

THE Duke and his Friends had, about the Beginning of the War, by their Credit with the Queen, procured a Warrant from Her Majesty for this Perquisite of Two and Half

per Cent. The Warrant was directed to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and countersigned by Sir *Charles Hedges* then Secretary of State, by virtue of which the Paymaster General of the Army was to pay the said deducted Money to the General, and take Receipts in full from the Foreign Troops.

It was observed as very Commendable, and becoming the Dignity of such an Assembly, that this Debate was managed with great Temper, and with few personal Reflections upon the Duke of *Marlborough*. They seemed only desirous to come at the Truth, without which they could not answer the Trust reposed in them by those whom they represented; And left the rest to Her Majesty's Prudence. The Attorney General was ordered to commence an Action against the Duke for the substracted Money, which would have amounted to a great Summ, enough to ruine any Private Person, except Himself. This Process is still depending, though very moderately pursued, either by the Queen's Indulgence to One whom She had formerly so much trusted; or perhaps to be revived or slackend according to the future Demeanour of the Defendant.

Some time after, Mr. *Cardonell*, a Member of Parliament, and Secretary to the General in *Flanders*, was expelled the House for the Offence of receiving yearly Bribes from those who had contracted to furnish Bread for the Army; and met with no farther Punishment for a Practice Voted to be Unwarrantable and Corrupt.

These were all the Censures of any moment, which the Commons under so great a Weight of Business thought fit to make upon the Reports of their Commissioners for inspecting the Publick Accounts. But, having promised in the beginning of this History to examine the State of the Nation with respect to its Debts; by what Negligence or Corruption they first began, and in process of Time made such a prodigious Encrease; And lastly, what Courses have been taken under the present Administration to find out Funds for answering so many unprovided Incumbrances, as well as put a Stop to New ones: I shall endeavour to satisfy the Reader upon this important Article.

By all I have yet read of the History of our own Country, it appears to me, That National Debts secured upon Parliamentary Funds of Interest, were things unknown in *England* before the last Revolution under the Prince of *Orange*. It is true, that in the Grand Rebellion, the King's Enemies borrowed Money of particular Persons, upon what they called *the Publick Faith*: But, this was only for short Periods, and the Summs no more than what they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our Kings have been very profuse in Peace and War, and are blamed in History for their Oppressions of the People by severe Taxes, and for borrowing Money which they never paid: But, *National Debts* was a Style which I doubt would hardly be then understood. When the Prince of *Orange* was raised to the Throne, and a general War began in these Parts of *Europe*, the King and his Counsellors thought it would be ill Policy to commence his Reign with heavy Taxes upon the People, who had lived long in Ease and Plenty, and might be apt to think their Deliverance too dearly bought. Wherefore, One of the first Actions of the New Government was to take off the Tax upon Chimneys, as a Burthen very ungrateful to the Commonalty. But, Money being wanted to support the War (which even the Convention-Parliament, that put the Crown upon his Head, were very unwilling He should engage in) The present Bishop of *Salisbury* is said to have found out that Expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raising Money upon the Security of Taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large Interest. The Motives which prevailed on People to fall in with this Project, were many and plausible. For supposing, as the Ministers industriously gave out, That the War could not last above One or Two Campagnes at most, it might be carryed on with very moderate Taxes, and the Debts accrueing would in process of Time be easily cleared after a Peace. Then, the Bait of large Interest would draw in a great Number of those whose Money by the Dangers and Difficulties of Trade lay dead upon their hands; And whoever were Lenders to the Government, would by the surest Principle be obliged to support it. Besides, the Men of Estates could not be persuaded without

Time and Difficulty to have those Taxes laid on their Lands, which Custom hath since made so familiar; and it was the Business of such as were then in Power to cultivate a money'd Interest; because the Gentry of the Kingdom did not very much relish those New Notions in Government, to which the King, who had imbibed his Politicks in his own Country, was thought to give too much way. Neither perhaps did that Prince think National Incumbrances to be any Evil at all; since the flourishing Republick, where he was born, is thought to Owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember when I mentioned to Mons. *Buys* the many Millions We owed; He would advance it as a Maxim, That it was for the Interest of the Publick to be in Debt; Which perhaps may be true in a Commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the Governors cannot have too many Pledges of their Subjects Fidelity; and where a great Majority must inevitably be undone by any Revolution however brought about: But to prescribe the same Rules to a Monarchy, whose Wealth ariseth from the Rents and Improvement of Lands, as well as Trade and Manufactures; is the Mark of a confined and cramped Understanding.

I WAS moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfyed, That the pernicious Counsels of borrowing Money upon publick Funds of Interest, as well as some other State-Lessons, were taken indigested from the like Practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the least for any Difference in Government, Religion, Law, Custom, Extent of Country, or Manners and Dispositions of the People.

BUT, when this Expedient of Anticipations and Mortgages was first put in practice; artful Men in Office and Credit began to consider what Uses it might be applyed to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful Seminary, not only to establish a Faction they intended to set up for their own Support; but likewise, to raise vast Wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the Managers and Directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these Two Designs so much as burthening the Nation with Debts; and giving Encouragement to Lenders. For, as to the First; It was

not to be doubted that Money'd Men would be always firm to the Party of those, who advised the Borrowing upon such good Security, and with such exorbitant Præmiums and Interest; and every new Summ that was lent, took away as much Power from the Landed Men, as it added to theirs; so that the deeper the Kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus, a new Estate and Property sprung up in the hands of Mortgagees, to whom every House and Foot of Land in *England* paid a Rent Charge free of all Taxes and Defalcations; and purchased at less than Half-value. So that the Gentlemen of Estates were in effect but Tenants to these New Landlords; many of whom were able in time to force the Election of Burroughs out of the Hands of those who had been the old Proprietors and Inhabitants. This was arrived to such a Height, that a very few Years more of War and Funds would have clearly cast the Balance on the Money'd Side.

As to the Second: This Project of Borrowing upon Funds was of mighty Advantage to those who were in the Management of it, as well as to their Friends and Dependents. For, Funds proving often Deficient, the Government was obliged to strike Tallies for making up the rest; which Tallies were sometimes (to speak in the Merchant's Phrase) at above Forty *per Cent.* Discount. At this Price those who were in the Secret, bought them up; and then took care to have that Deficiency supplyed in the next Session of Parliament; by which they doubled their Principal in a few Months. And for the Encouragement of Lenders, every new Project of Lotteries or Annuities proposed some farther Advantage, either as to Interest or Præmium.

In the Year 1697 a general Mortgage was made of certain Revenues and Taxes already settled; which amounted to near a Million a Year. This Mortgage was to continue till 1706, and to be a Fund for the Payment of about Five Millions One Hundred Thousand Pounds. In the first Parliament of the Queen, the said Mortgage was continued to 1710, to supply a Deficiency of Two Millions Three Hundred Thousand Pounds, and Interest of above a Million; and in the intermediate Years a great Part of that Fund was branched out into Annuities for

Ninety Nine Years. So that the late Ministry raised all their Money to 1710 only by continuing Funds which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the People in general; who were satisfyed to continue the Payments they had been accustomed to, and made the Administration seem easy; since the War went on without any new Taxes raised, except the very last year they were in Power: Not considering what a mighty Fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated although extremely injurious to Trade, and to the true Interest of the Nation.

THIS great Fund of the general Mortgage was not only loaded Year after Year by mighty Summs borrowed upon it; but with the Interest due upon those Summs; for which the Treasury was forced to strike Tallies payable out of that Fund after all the Money already borrowed upon it; there being no other Provision of Interest for Three or Four Years; till at last the Fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay Principal nor Interest, and Tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great Discount.

BUT to avoid Mistakes upon a Subject where I am not very well versed either in the Style or Matter; I will transcribe an Account sent me by a * Person, who is throughly instructed in these Affairs.

"IN the Year 1707 the Summ of £822381-15-6 was raised "by continuing part of the General Mortgage from 1710 to "1712, but with no Provision of Interest till *August* 1. 1710 "otherwise than by striking Tallies for it, on that Fund, "payable after all the other Money borrowed.

"IN 1708 the same Funds were continued from 1712 to "1714 to raise £729067-15-6, but no Provision for Interest "till *August* 1. 1712 otherwise than as before, by striking "Tallies for it, on the same Fund, payable after all the rest of "the Money borrowed. And the Discount of Tallies then "beginning to rise, great part of that Money remains still "unraised; and there is nothing to pay Interest for the Money "lent, till *August* 1. 1712. But the late Lord Treasurer struck "Tallies for the full Summ directed by the Act to be borrowed;

* Sir *John Blunt*.

"great Part of which Tallies have been delivered out in "Payments to the Navy and Victualing-Offices, and some are "still in the Hands of the Government.

"In 1709 Part of the same Fund was continued from "August 1. 1714 to August 1. 1716, to raise £645000 and no "Provision for Interest till August 1. 1714. (which was about "Five Years) but by borrowing Money on the same Fund, "payable after the Summs before lent; So that little of that "Money was lent: But the Tallies were struck for what was "Unlent, some of which were given out for the Payment of "the Navy and Victualing, and some still remain in the Hands "of the Government.

"In 1710, the Funds which were before given from 1714 "to 1716 were continued from thence to 1720, to raise "£1,296552-9-11¾, and no immediate Provision for Interest "till *August* 1. 1716, only after the Duty of One Shilling *per* "Bushel on Salt should be cleared from the Money it was "then charged with, and which was not so cleared till *Mid-* "*summer* 1712 last. Then that Fund was to be applyed to pay "the Interest till *August* 1. 1716 Which Interest amounted to "about £77793 *per Ann.* and the said Salt-Fund produces "but about £55000 *per Ann.* So that no Money was "borrowed upon the General Mortgage in 1710 except "£150000 lent by the *Swiss* Cantons: But Tallies were struck "for the whole Summ. These all remained in the late Treasurer's "hands at the time of his Removal, yet the Money was "expended; which occasioned those great Demands upon the "Commissioners of the Treasury who succeeded him, and were "forced to pawn those Tallies to the Bank or to Remitters, "rather than sell them at Twenty or Twenty-Five *per Cent.* "Discount, as the Price then was. About £200000 of them "they paid to Clothiers of the Army and others; and all the "rest, being above £900000 have been subscribed into the "South Sea Company for the Use of the Publick."

When the Earl of *Godolphin* was removed from his Employment, he left a Debt upon the Navy of several Millions, all contracted under his Administration; which had no Parliament-Security, and was daily encreased. Neither could I ever learn,

whether that Lord had the smallest Prospect of clearing this Incumbrance, or whether there were Policy, Negligence, or Despair at the bottom of this unaccountable Management. But the Consequences were visible and ruinous; for, by this means Navy Bills grew to be Forty *per Cent.* Discount, and upwards; and almost every kind of Stores, bought by the Navy and Victualling Offices, cost the Government double Rates, and sometimes more. So that the Publick hath directly lost severall Millions upon this One Article, and without any Sort of Necessity that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest Vindicators of that Party.

In this oppressed and entangled State was the Kingdom with relation to its Debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of *Godolphin* from his Office, and put it into Commission, of which * the present Treasurer was one. This Person had been chosen Speaker successively to Three Parliaments, was afterward Secretary of State, and always in great Esteem with the Queen for his Wisdom and Fidelity. The late Ministry, about Two Years before their Fall, had prevailed with Her Majesty, much against her Inclination, to dismiss him from her Service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that He should succeed in a second Attempt against those very Adversaries who had such fair Warning by the first. He is Firm and Steady in his Resolutions, not easily diverted from them, after he hath once possessed himself of an Opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by Experience, That a Secret is seldom Safe in more than One Breast. That which occurs to other Men after mature Deliberation, offers to him as his first Thought, so that he decides immediatly what is best to be done, and is therefore very seldom at a loss upon sudden Exigencies. He thinks it a more easie and safe Rule in Politicks to watch Incidents as they come, and then turn them to the Advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great Distance. Fear, Avarice, Cruelty, and Pride are wholly

* Mr. *Harley.*

strangers to his Nature; but he is not without Ambition. There is One Thing peculiar in his Temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other Man's Character: I mean an Easiness and Indifference under any Imputation, although he be ever so Innocent; and, although the strongest Probabilities and Appearances are against him. So that I have known him often suspected by his nearest Friends for some Months in Points of the highest Importance, to a degree that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by Time or Accident. His Detractours who charge him with Cunning, are but ill-acquainted with his Character; for, in the Sence they take the Word, and as it is usually understood; I know no Man to whom that mean Talent could be with less Justice applyed; as the Conduct of Affairs while He hath been at the Helm, doth clearly demonstrate; very contrary to the Nature and Principles of Cunning, which is always employ'd in serving little Turns, proposing little Ends, and supplying daily Exigencies by little Shifts and Expedients. But, to rescue a Prince out of the Hands of insolent Subjects, bent upon such Designs as must probably end in the Ruin of the Government; To find out Means for paying such exorbitant Debts as this Nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better Management: To make a potent Enemy offer advantageous Terms of a Peace, and deliver up the most important Fortress of his Kingdom as a Security; and this, against all the Oppositions mutually raised and inflamed by Parties and Allies: Such Performances can only be called Cunning by those whose want of Understanding or of Candour puts them upon Finding ill Names for great Qualities of the Mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just Conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an Obstinate Love of Secrecy in this Minister seems at distance to have some Resemblance of Cunning; For, He *is* not only very retentive of Secrets, but *appears* to be so too; which I number among his Defects. He hath been blamed by his Friends for refusing to discover his Intentions, even in those Points where the Wisest Man may have need of Advice and Assistance; and Some have censured

him upon that account, as if he were jealous of Power: But, he hath been heard to answer, That he seldom did otherwise without Cause to repent. However, so undistinguished a Caution cannot in my Opinion be justifyed, by which the Owner loseth many Advantages; and whereof all Men, who deserve to be confided in, may with some reason complain. His Love of Procrastination (wherein doubtless Nature hath her Share) may probably be encreased by the same means. But this is an Imputation laid upon many other great Ministers; who, like men under too heavy a Load, let fall that which is of the least Consequence, and go back to fetch it when their Shoulders are free. For, Time is often gained as well as lost by Delay; which at worst is a Fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this Minister answerable for half the Clamour raised against him upon that Article: His Endeavours are wholly turned upon the general Welfare of his Country, but perhaps with too little Regard to that of particular Persons; which renders him less amiable than he would otherwise have been from the Goodness of his Humour, and agreeable Conversation in a private Capacity, and with few Dependers. He is Master of a very great and faithful Memory, which is of mighty use in the Management of publick Affairs; And I believe there are few Examples to be produced in any Age, of a Person, who hath passed through so many Employments in the State, endowed with so great a Share both of Divine and Human Learning.

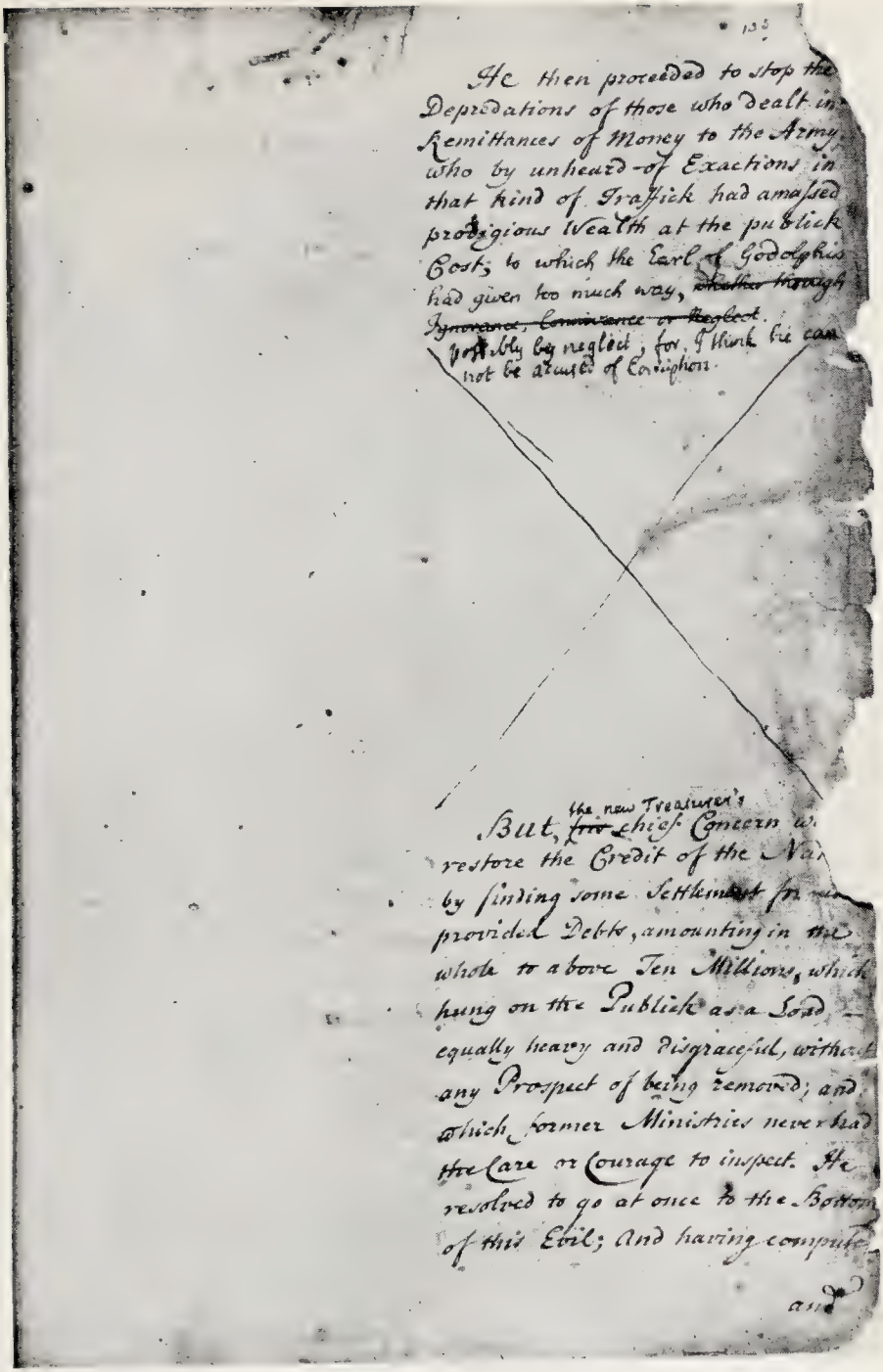
I AM persuaded that Foreigners, as well as those at Home, who live too remote from the Scene of Business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this Account of a Person, who in the Space of Two Years hath been so highly Instrumental in changing the Face of Affairs in *Europe*; And hath Deserved so well of his own Prince and Country.

IN that perplexed Condition of the Publick Debts which I have above described, this Minister was brought into the Treasury, and Exchequer; and had the chief Direction of Affairs. His first Regulation was that of the Exchequer-Bills, which to the great Discouragement of publick Credit, and Scandal to the Crown, were three *per Cent.* less in value than

the Summs specifyed in them. The present Treasurer being then Chancellor of the Exchequer, procured an Act of Parliament, by which the Bank of *England* should be obliged in consideration of five and fourty thousand Pounds, to accept and circulate those Bills without any Discount.

He then proceeded to stop the Depredations of those who dealt in Remittances of Money to the Army, who by unheard-of Exactions in that kind of Traffick had amassed prodigious Wealth at the publick Cost; to which the Earl of *Godolphin* had given too much way, possibly by neglect, for, I think he cannot be accused of Corruption.

But, the new Treasurer's chief Concern was to restore the Credit of the Nation, by finding some Settlement for unprovided Debts, amounting in the whole to above Ten Millions, which hung on the Publick as a Load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any Prospect of being removed; and which former Ministries never had the Care or Courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the Bottom of this Evil; And having computed and summed up the Debt of the Navy, and Victualing; Ordnance, and Transport, and of the Army and Transport Debentures made out for the Service of the last War; of the general Mortgage Tallies for the Year 1710 and some other Deficiencies; He then found out a Fund of Interest sufficient to answer all this, which being applyed to other Uses, could not raise present Money for the War; but in a very few years would clear the Debt it was engaged for: The intermediate accruing Interest was to be paid by the Treasurer of the Navy; and, as a farther Advantage to the Creditors, they should be erected into a Company for Trading to the South-Seas, and for Encouragement of Fishery. When all this was fully prepared and Digested, He made a Motion in the House of Commons (who deferred extremely to his Judgement and Abilities) for paying the Debts of the Navy, and other unprovided Deficiencies, without entring into Particulars; which was immediatly Voted. But a sudden Stop was put to this Affair by an unforeseen Accident: The Chancellor of the Exchequer (which was then his Title) being Stabbed with a Penknife the following Day at the Cockpit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of this Evil; And having compute
as

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Facing p. 76

FOLIO 135 OF THE WINDSOR MS.

in the midst of a Dozen Lords of the Council, by the Sieur *de Guiscard* a *French* Papist: The Circumstances * of which Fact being not within the Compass of this History, I shall onely Observe, that after Two Months Confinement, and frequent Danger of his Life, He returned to his Seat in Parliament.

THE Overture made by this Minister of paying so vast a Debt under the Pressures of a long War, and the Difficulty of finding Supplies for continuing it, was during the Time of his Illness ridiculed by his Enemies as an impracticable and visionary Project: And, when upon his return to the House he had explained his Proposal, the very Proprietors of the Debt were many of them prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this Trade either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spanish* West-Indies, had been one Principal End we aimed at by this War. However, the Bill passed; and as an immediate Consequence, the Value of Navy Bills rose to about 20 *per Cent.* nor ever fell within Ten of their first Discount. Another good Effect of this great Work appeared by the Parliamentary Lotteries, which have been since erected; The last of that kind under the former Ministry was Eleven Weeks in filling; whereas the first under the Present was filled in a very few Hours, although it cost the Government less: And the others which followed were full before the Acts concerning them could pass.

AND to prevent Incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future He took care by the utmost Parcimony or by suspending Payments where they seemed least to press, that all Stores for the Navy should be bought with ready Money, by which *Cent. per Cent.* at least hath been saved in that mighty Article of our Expence; as will appear from an Account taken at the Victualing Office on the Ninth of *August* 1712, and printed at the End of this History. And the Payment of the Interest was less a Burthen upon the Navy, by the Stores being bought at so cheap a Rate.

IT might look invidious to enter into farther Particulars upon this Head but of smaller Moment. What I have above related may serve to shew in how ill a Condition the Kingdom

* See the particular Account in the Examiner.

stood with relation to its Debts, by the Corruption as well as Negligence of former Management; And what prudent effectual Methods have since been taken to provide for old Incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the Information of the Reader, perhaps already tired with a Subject so little entertaining as that of Accounts. I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal Matters that passed in Parliament during this Session.

UPON the 18th of *January*, the House of Lords sent down a Bill to the Commons for fixing the Precedence of the *Hanover* Family; which probably had been forgot in the Acts for settling the Succession of the Crown: That of *Henry* the 8th which gives the Rank to Princes of the Blood before all other Subjects, carryes it no farther than to Nephews, Nieces, and Grandchildren of the Crown; by virtue of which the Electress *Sophia* is a Princess of the Blood, as Niece to K. *Charles* I. of *England*; and precedes accordingly; but this Priviledge doth not descend to Her Son the Elector, or the Electoral Prince. To supply which Defect, and pay a Compliment to the presumptive Heirs to the Crown, this Bill as appears by the Preamble was recommended by Her Majesty to the House of Lords; which the Commons, to shew their Zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the Interest or Honour of that Illustrious Family, Ordered to be read thrice, and passed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the Lords without any Amendment on the very Day it was sent down.

BUT the House seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict Enquiry into the State of the Nation with respect to Foreign Alliances. Some Discourses had been published in Print about the beginning of the Session, boldly complaining of certain Articles in the Barrier-Treaty, concluded about Three Years since by the Lord Viscount *Townshend* between *Britain* and the States General and shewing in many Particulars the unequal Conduct of those Powers in our Alliance, in furnishing their Quotas and Supplies. It was asserted by the same Writers, That these Hardships put upon *England* had been countenanced and encouraged by a Party here at home, in order to preserve their Power, which could no otherwise be

maintained than by continuing the War; as well as by Her Majesty's General abroad, upon account of his own peculiar Interest and Grandeur. These loud Accusations spreading themselves through the Kingdom; delivered in Facts directly charged; and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted; had sufficiently prepared the Minds of the People; and, by putting Arguments into every body's Mouth, had filled the Town and Country with Controversies both in Writing and Discourse. The Point appeared to be of great Consequence, whether the War continued or not: For, in the former Case, it was Necessary that the Allies should be brought to a more equal Regulation; and, that the States in particular, for whom Her Majesty had done such great Things, should explain and correct those Articles in the Barrier-Treaty, which were prejudicial to *Britain*: And in either Case, it was fit the People should have at least the Satisfaction of knowing by whose Counsels and for what Designs they had been so hardly treated.

IN order to this great Enquiry, "the Barrier-Treaty with all "other Treaties and Agreements entered into between Her "Majesty and Her Allies during the present War for the "raising and augmenting the Proportions for the Service "thereof," were by the Queen's Directions laid before the House.

SEVERAL Resolutions were drawn up and reported at different Times upon the Deficiency of the Allies in furnishing their Quotas; Upon certain Articles in the Barrier-Treaty; and upon the State of the War: By all which it appeared, That whatever had been charged by publick Discourses in Print against the late Ministry and the *Conduct of the Allies*, was much less than the Truth. Upon these Resolutions, (By one of which the Lord Viscount *Townshend* who negotiated and signed the Barrier Treaty was declared an Enemy to the Queen and Kingdom) and upon some farther Directions to the Committee, a Representation was formed; and soon after, the Commons in a Body presented it to the Queen, the Endeavours of the adverse Party not prevailing to have it recomitted.

THIS Representation (supposed to be the Work of Sir

Thomas Hanmer's Pen) is written with much Energy and Spirit, and will be a very useful authentick Record for the Assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the History of the present Times.

I DID intend for Brevity sake, to have given the Reader only an Abstract of it, but upon Tryal found myself unequal to such a Task, without injuring so excellent a Piece. And although I think Historical Relations are but ill patched up with long Transcripts already Printed, which upon that account I have hitherto avoided; yet this being the Summ of all Debates and Resolutions of the House of Commons in that great Affair of the War; I conceived it could not well be omitted.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"WE Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the "Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, having "nothing so much at Heart, as to enable Your Majesty to bring "this long and expensive War to an honourable and happy "Conclusion, have taken it into our most serious Consideration, "how the necessary Supplies to be provided by us may be best "applied, and how the common Cause may in the most effectual "Manner be carried on, by the united Force of the whole "Confederacy. We have thought ourselves obliged, in Duty to "your Majesty, and in Discharge of the Trust reposed in us, "to inquire into the true State of the War, in all its Parts. "We have examined what Stipulations have been entered into "between Your Majesty and Your Allies; and how far such "Engagements have on each Side been made good. We have "considered the different Interests which the Confederates "have in the Success of this War, and the different Shares "they have contributed to its Support: We have with our "utmost Care and Diligence endeavoured to discover the "Nature, Extent, and Charge of it, to the End, that by compar-"ing the Weight thereof with our own Strength, we might "adapt the one to the other in such Measure, as neither to "continue Your Majesty's Subjects under a heavier Burthen, "than in Reason and Justice they ought to bear; nor deceive "Your Majesty, Your Allies, and ourselves, by undertaking

"more than the Nation in its present Circumstance is able to "perform.

"YOUR Majesty hath been graciously pleased, upon our "humble Applications, to order such Materials to be laid "before us, as have furnished us with the necessary Information "upon the Particulars we have inquired into; and when we "shall have laid before Your Majesty our Observations, and "humble Advice upon this Subject, we promise to ourselves "this happy Fruit from it, that if Your Majesty's generous "and good Purposes, for the procuring a safe and lasting "Peace, should, through the Obstinacy of the Enemy, or by "any other Means, be unhappily defeated, a true Knowledge "and Understanding of the past Conduct of the War will be "the best Foundation for a more frugal and equal Management "of it for the Time to come.

"IN order to take the more perfect View of what we pro- "posed, and that we might be able to set the whole before "Your Majesty in a true Light, we have thought it necessary "to go back to the Beginning of the War, and beg Leave to "observe the Motives and Reasons, upon which His late "Majesty King WILLIAM first engaged in it. The Treaty of "the Grand Alliance explains those Reasons to be for the "Supporting the Pretensions of his Imperial Majesty, then "actually engaged in a War with the *French* King, who had "usurped the intire *Spanish* Monarchy for his Grandson the "Duke of *Anjou*; and for the assisting the States-General, "who, by the Loss of their Barrier against *France*, were then "in the same, or a more dangerous Condition, than if they were "actually invaded. As these were the just and necessary "Motives for undertaking this War, so the Ends, proposed "to be obtained by it, were equally wise and honourable; "for, as they are set forth in the eighth Article of the same "Treaty, they appear to have been *the procuring an equitable and* "*reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty, and sufficient* "*Securities for the Dominions, Provinces, Navigation, and Commerce* "*of the King of* Great-Britain, *and the States General; the* "*making effectual Provision, that the two Kingdoms of* France *and* "Spain *should never be united under the same Government*; and

"particularly, that the *French* should never get into the Posses-
"sion of the *Spanish* West-Indies, or be permitted to sail
"thither, upon the Account of Traffick, under any Pretence
"whatsoever; and lastly, the securing to the Subjects of the
"King of *Great-Britain*, and the States-General, all the same
"Privileges, and Rights of Commerce, throughout the whole
"Dominions of *Spain*, as they enjoyed before the Death of
"CHARLES the IId. King of *Spain*, by Virtue of any Treaty,
"Agreement, or Custom, or any other Way whatsoever. For
"the obtaining these Ends, the three confederated Powers
"engaged to assist one another with their whole Force,
"according to such Proportions as should be specified in a
"particular Convention, afterwards to be made for that
"Purpose: We do not find that any such Convention was
"ever ratified; but it appears, that there was an Agreement
"concluded, which, by common Consent, was understood to
"be binding upon each Party respectively, and according to
"which the Proportions of *Great-Britain* were from the Begin-
"ning regulated and founded. The Terms of that Agreement
"were, That, for the Service at Land, his Imperial Majesty
"should furnish ninety thousand Men, the King of *Great-*
"*Britain* forty thousand, and the States General one
"hundred and two thousand, of which there were forty two
"thousand intended to supply their Garrisons, and sixty
"thousand to act against the common Enemy in the Field;
"and with regard to the Operations of the War at Sea, they
"were agreed to be performed jointly by *Great-Britain* and the
"States-General, the Quota of Ships to be furnished for that
"Service being five eighths on the Part of *Great-Britain*, and
"three eighths on the Part of the States General.

"UPON this Foot the War began in the Year One thousand
"seven hundred and two, at which Time the whole yearly
"Expence of it to *England* amounted to three Millions, seven
"hundred, and six thousand four hundred ninety-four Pounds;
"a very great Charge, as it was then thought by Your Majesty's
"Subjects, after the short Interval of Ease they had enjoyed
"from the Burden of the former War, but yet a very moderate
"Proportion, in Comparison with the Load which hath since

"been laid upon them: For it appears, by Estimates given in to "your Commons, that the Sums necessary to carry on the "Service for this present Year, in the same Manner as it was "performed the last Year, amount to more than six Millions "nine hundred and sixty thousand Pounds, besides Interest "for the publick Debt, and the Deficiencies accruing the last "Year, which two Articles require one Million, one hundred "and forty-three thousand Pounds more: So that the whole "Demands upon Your Commons are arisen to more than eight "millions for the present Annual Supply. We know Your "Majesty's tender Regard for the Welfare of Your People "will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a Pressure "as this upon them; and as we are assured, it will fully convince "Your Majesty of the Necessity of our present Inquiry; so "we beg Leave to represent to You, from what Causes, and by "what Steps, this immense Charge appears to have grown "upon us.

"THE Service at Sea, as it hath been very large and extensive "in itself, so it hath been carried on, through the whole Course "of the War, in a Manner highly disadvantageous to Your "Majesty and Your Kingdom: For the Necessity of Affairs "requiring that great Fleets should be fitted out every Year, "as well for the maintaining a Superiority in the *Mediterranean*, "as for opposing any Force which the Enemy might prepare, "either at *Dunkirk*, or in the Ports of *West France*, Your "Majesty's Example and Readiness in fitting out your Propor- "tion of Ships, for all Parts of that Service, have been so far "from prevailing with the States-General to keep Pace with "You, that they have been deficient every Year to a great "Degree, in Proportion to what Your Majesty hath furnished; "sometimes no less than Two-thirds, and generally more than "half of their Quota: From hence Your Majesty has been "obliged, for the preventing Disappointments in the most "pressing Services, to supply those Deficiencies by additional "Reinforcements of your own Ships; nor hath the single "Increase of such a Charge been the only ill Consequence that "attended it; for by this Means the Debt of the Navy hath "been inhanced, so that the Discounts arising upon the Credit

"of it have affected all other Parts of the Service; from the same "Cause Your Majesty's Ships of War have been forced in "greater Numbers to continue in remote Seas, and at un- "seasonable Times of the Year, to the great Damage and Decay "of the *British* Navy. This also hath been the Occasion that "Your Majesty hath been streightened in Your Convoys for "Trade; Your Coasts have been exposed, for want of a suffi- "cient Number of Cruisers to guard them; and You have been "disabled from annoying the Enemy, in their most beneficial "Commerce with the *West Indies*, from whence they have "received those vast Supplies of Treasure, without which they "could not have supported the Expences of this War.

"THAT Part of the War which hath been carried on in "*Flanders* was at first immediately necessary to the Security of "the States General, and hath since brought them great "Acquisitions, both of Revenue and Dominion; yet even there "the original Proportions have been departed from, and, "during the Course of the War, have been sinking by Degrees "on the Part of *Holland*; so that in this last Year we find the "Number in which they fell short of their Three-fifths, to Your "Majesty's Two-fifths, to have been Twenty Thousand Eight "Hundred and Thirty-seven Men: We are not unmindful, that, "in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three, a "Treaty was made between the two Nations, for a joint "Augmentation of Twenty Thousand Men, wherein the "Proportions were varied, and *England* consented to take half "upon itself. But it having been annexed as an express "Condition to the Grant of the said Augmentation in Parlia- "ment, that the States General should prohibit all Trade and "Commerce with *France*, and that Condition having not been "performed by them, the Commons think it reasonable, that "the first Rule of Three to Two ought to have taken Place "again, as well in that as in other subsequent Augmentations, "more especially when they consider, that the Revenues of "those rich Provinces, which have been conquered, would, if "they were duly applied, maintain a great Number of new "additional Forces against the common Enemy; notwithstand- "ing which, the States General have raised none upon that

"Account, but make use of those fresh Supplies of Money, "only to ease themselves in the Charge of their first established "Quota.

"As, in the Progress of the War in *Flanders*, a Disproportion was soon created to the Prejudice of *England*; so the very "Beginning of the War in *Portugal* brought an unequal Share of "Burden upon us; for although the Emperor and the States "General were equally Parties with Your Majesty in the Treaty "with the King of *Portugal*, yet the Emperor neither furnishing his third Part of the Troops and Subsidies stipulated "for, nor the *Dutch* consenting to take an equal Share of his "Imperial Majesty's Defect upon themselves, Your Majesty "hath been obliged to furnish Two-thirds of the entire "Expence created by that Service. Nor has the Inequality "stopped there; for ever since the Year One Thousand Seven "Hundred and Six, when the *English* and *Dutch* Forces marched "out of *Portugal* into *Castille*, the States General have entirely "abandoned the War in *Portugal*, and left Your Majesty to "prosecute it singly at Your own Charge, which you have "accordingly done, by replacing a greater Number of Troops "there, than even at first you took upon you to provide. "At the same Time Your Majesty's generous Endeavours for "the Support and Defence of the King of *Portugal*, have been "but ill seconded by that Prince himself; for notwithstanding "that by his Treaty he had obliged himself to furnish Twelve "Thousand Foot, and Three Thousand Horse, upon his own "Account, besides Eleven Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand "Horse more, in Consideration of a Subsidy paid to him; "yet, according to the best Information Your Commons can "procure, it appears, that he hath scarce at any Time furnished "Thirteen Thousand Men in the Whole.

"In *Spain* the War hath been yet more unequal, and burdensome to Your Majesty, than in any other Branch of it; for, "being commenced without any Treaty whatsoever, the Allies "have almost wholely declined taking any Part of it upon "themselves. A small Body of *English* and *Dutch* Troops were "sent thither in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and "Five, not as being thought sufficient to support a regular

"War, or to make the Conquest of so large a Country; but "with a View only of assisting the *Spaniards* to set King "*Charles* upon the Throne; occasioned by the great Assurances "which were given of their Inclinations to the House of "*Austria*: But this Expectation failing, *England* was insensibly "drawn into an established War, under all the Disadvantages of "the Distance of the Place, and the feeble Efforts of the other "Allies. The Account we have to lay before Your Majesty, "upon this Head, is, that although this Undertaking was "entered upon at the particular and earnest Request of the "Imperial Court, and for a Cause of no less Importance and "Concern to them, than the reducing the *Spanish* Monarchy "to the House of *Austria*; yet neither the late Emperors, nor "his present Imperial Majesty, have ever had any Forces "there on their own Account, till the last Year; and then only "one Regiment of Foot, consisting of Two Thousand Men. "Though the States General have contributed something more "to this Service, yet their Share also hath been inconsiderable; "for in the Space of four Years, from One Thousand Seven "Hundred and Five, to One Thousand Seven Hundred and "Seven, both inclusive, all the Forces they have sent into that "Country have not exceeded Twelve Thousand Two Hundred "Men; and from the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred "and Eight to this Time, they have not sent any Forces or "Recruits whatsoever. To Your Majesty's Care and Charge, "the Recovery of that Kingdom hath been in a Manner "wholely left, as if none else were interested or concerned in it. "And the Forces which Your Majesty hath sent into *Spain*, in "the Space of seven Years, from One Thousand Seven Hundred "and Five, to One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, both "inclusive, have amounted to no less than Fifty-seven "Thousand nine Hundred Seventy-three Men, besides thirteen "Battalions and eighteen Squadrons, for which Your Majesty "hath paid a Subsidy to the Emperor.

"How great the established Expence of such a Number of "Men hath been, Your Majesty very well knows, and Your "Commons very sensibly feel; but the Weight will be found "much greater, when it is considered how many heavy Articles

"of unusual and extraordinary Charge have attended this "remote and difficult Service, all which have been entirely "defrayed by Your Majesty, except that one of transporting "the few Forces which were sent by the States General, and the "victualling of them during their Transportation only. The "Accounts delivered to Your Commons shew, that the Charge "of Your Majesty's Ships and Vessels, employed in the "Service of the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, reckoned after the "Rate of four Pounds a Man *per* Month, from the Time they "sailed from hence, till they returned, were lost, or put upon "other Services, hath amounted to Six Millions, Five Hundred "and Forty Thousand, Nine Hundred and Sixty-six Pounds, Four- "teen Shillings: The Charge of Transports on the Part of *Great- "Britain*, for carrying on the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, from "the Beginning of it until this Time, hath amounted to One "Million, Three Hundred Thirty-six Thousand, Seven Hundred "and Nineteen Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Eleven Pence; "that of victualling Land Forces for the same Service, to Five "Hundred Eighty-three Thousand, Seven Hundred and "Seventy Pounds, Eight Shillings and Six Pence; and that of "Contingencies, and other Extraordinaries for the same "Service, to One Million, Eight Hundred Forty Thousand, "Three Hundred and Fifty-three Pounds.

"We should take Notice to Your Majesty of several Sums "paid upon Account of Contingencies, and Extraordinaries in "*Flanders*, making together the Sum of One Million, One "Hundred Seven Thousand and Ninety-six Pounds: But we are "not able to make any Comparison of them, with what the "States-General have expended upon the same Head, having no "such State of their extraordinary Charge before us. There "remains therefore but one Particular more for your Majesty's "Observation, which arises from the Subsidies paid to foreign "Princes. These, at the Beginning of the War, were borne in "equal Proportion by your Majesty and the States-General; "but, in this Instance also, the Balance hath been cast in "Prejudice of your Majesty: For it appears, that your Majesty "hath since advanced more than your equal Proportion, three "Millions, one Hundred and fifty-five Thousand Crowns,

"besides Extraordinaries paid in *Italy*, and not included in any "of the foregoing Articles, which arise to five Hundred thirty-"nine Thousand, five Hundred and fifty-three Pounds.

"We have laid these several Particulars before your "Majesty in the shortest Manner we have been able; and by an "Estimate grounded on the preceding Facts, it does appear, "that over and above the Quotas on the Part of *Great-Britain*, "answering to those contributed by your Allies, more than "nineteen Millions have been expended by your Majesty, "during the Course of this War, by Way of Surplusage, or "exceeding, in Balance of which, none of the Confederates have "furnished any Thing whatsoever.

"It is with very great Concern, that we find so much "Occasion given us, to represent how ill an Use hath been "made of your Majesty's and your Subjects Zeal for the "Common Cause; that the Interest of that Cause hath not "been proportionably promoted by it, but others only have "been eased at your Majesty's and your Subjects Cost, and have "been connived at, in laying their Part of the Burthen upon "this Kingdom, although they have upon all Accounts been "equally, and, in most Respects, much more nearly concerned "than *Britain* in the Issue of the War. We are persuaded your "Majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some Resent-"ment to complain of the little Regard, which some of those, "whom your Majesty of late Years intrusted, have shewn to "the Interests of their Country, in giving Way, at least, to such "unreasonable Impositions upon it, if not in some Measure "contriving them. The Course of which Impositions hath "been so singular and extraordinary, that the more the Wealth "of this Nation hath been exhausted, and the more your "Majesty's Arms have been attended with Success, the heavier "hath been the Burthen laid upon us; whilst on the other Hand, "the more vigorous your Majesty's Efforts have been, and the "greater the Advantages which have redounded thence to "your Allies, the more those Allies have abated in their Share "of the Expence.

"At the first Entrance into this War, the Commons were "induced to exert themselves in the extraordinary Manner

"they did, and to grant such large Supplies, as had been "unknown to former Ages, in Hopes thereby to prevent the "Mischiefs of a lingering War, and to bring that, in which "they were necessarily engaged, to a speedy Conclusion; but "they have been very unhappy in the Event, whilst they have "so much Reason to suspect, that what was intended to "shorten the War hath proved the very Cause of its long "Continuance: For those, to whom the Profits of it have "accrued, have not been disposed easily to forego them. And "your Majesty will from thence discern *the true Reason, why so "many have delighted in a War, which brought in so rich an Harvest "yearly from* Great-Britain.

"We are as far from desiring, as we know your Majesty will "be from concluding any Peace but upon safe and honourable "Terms; and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves "from raising all necessary and possible Supplies, for an effec- "tual Prosecution of the War, till such a Peace can be obtained: "All that your faithful Commons aim at, all that they wish, is "an equal Concurrence from the other Powers, engaged in "Alliance with your Majesty; and a just Application of what "hath been already gained from the Enemy, towards promot- "ing the Common Cause. Several large Countries and "Territories have been restored to the House of *Austria*, such "as the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, and other "Places in *Italy*; others have been conquered, and added to "their Dominions, as the two Electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, "the Dutchy of *Mantua*, and the Bishoprick of *Liege*; these "having been reduced in great Measure by our Blood and "Treasure, may, we humbly conceive, with great Reason, be "claimed to come in Aid towards carrying on the War in "*Spain*. And therefore we make it our earnest Request to your "Majesty, that you will give Instructions to your Ministers, "to insist with the Emperor, that the Revenues of those several "Places, excepting only such a Portion thereof as is necessary "for their Defence, be actually so applied: And, as to the other "Parts of the War, to which your Majesty hath obliged yourself "by particular Treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your "Majesty, that you will be pleased to take effectual Care,

"that your Allies do perform their Parts stipulated by those "Treaties; and that your Majesty will, for the Future, no other- "wise furnish Troops, or pay Subsidies, than in Proportion to "what your Allies shall actually furnish and pay: When this "Justice is done to your Majesty, and to your People, there is "nothing which your Commons will not chearfully grant, "towards supporting your Majesty in the Cause in which you "are engaged. And whatever farther shall appear to be neces- "sary for carrying on the War, either at Sea or Land, we will "effectually enable your Majesty to bear your reasonable Share "of any such Expence, and will spare no Supplies which your "Subjects are able, with their utmost Efforts, to afford.

"AFTER having enquired into, and considered the State of "the War, in which the Part your Majesty has borne appears "to have been, not only superior to that of any one Ally, but "even equal to that of the whole Confederacy; your Commons "naturally inclined to hope, that they should find Care had been "taken of securing some particular Advantages to *Great-* "*Britain*, in the Terms of a future Peace; such as might afford "a Prospect of making the Nation Amends in Time, for that "immense Treasure which hath been expended, and those heavy "Debts which have been contracted, in the Course of so long "and burthensome a War. This reasonable Expectation could "no Way have been better answered, than by some Provision "made for the farther Security, and the greater Improvement "of the Commerce of *Great-Britain*; but we find ourselves so "very far disappointed in these Hopes, that in a Treaty not "long since concluded between your Majesty and the States- "General, under Colour of a mutual Guarantee, given for "two Points of the greatest Importance to both Nations, the "Succession and the Barrier; it appears, the Interest of *Great-* "*Britain* hath been not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that "several Articles in the said Treaty are destructive to the "Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom, and therefore highly "dishonourable to your Majesty.

"YOUR Commons observe, in the first Place, that several "Towns and Places are, by Virtue of this Treaty, to be put "into the Hands of the States-General, particularly *Newport*,

"*Dendermond*, and the Castle of *Ghent*, which can in no Sense "be looked upon as Part of a Barrier against *France*, but, being "the Keys of the *Netherlands* towards *Great-Britain*, must make "the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects in those Parts pre- "carious, and, whenever the States think fit, totally exclude "them from it. The pretended Necessity of putting these "Places into the Hands of the States-General, in order to "secure to them a Communication with their Barrier, must "appear vain and groundless; for the Sovereignty of the *Low* "*Countries* being not to remain to an Enemy, but to a Friend "and an Ally, that Communication must be always secure "and uninterrupted; besides that, in Case of a Rupture, or an "Attack, the States have full Liberty allowed them to take "Possession of all the *Spanish Netherlands*, and therefore needed "no Particular Stipulation for the Towns abovementioned.

"HAVING taken Notice of this Concession made to the "States-General, for seizing upon the whole ten Provinces; "we cannot but observe to your Majesty, that in the Manner "this Article is framed, it is another dangerous Circumstance "which attends this Treaty; for had such a Provision been con- "fined to the Case of an apparent Attack from *France* only, "the avowed Design of this Treaty had been fulfilled, and your "Majesty's Instructions to your Ambassador had been pur- "sued: But this necessary Restriction hath been omitted, and "the same Liberty is granted to the States, to take Possession "of all the *Netherlands*, whenever they shall think themselves "attacked by any other neighbouring Nation, as when they "shall be in Danger from *France*; so that if it should at any Time "happen (which your Commons are very unwilling to suppose) "that they should quarrel, even with your Majesty, the Riches, "Strength, and advantageous Situation of these Countries, "may be made Use of against yourself, without whose generous "and powerful Assistance they had never been conquered.

"TO return to those ill Consequences which relate to the "Trade of your Kingdoms, we beg Leave to observe to your "Majesty, that though this Treaty revives, and renders your "Majesty a Party to the fourteenth and fifteenth Articles of the "Treaty of *Munster*, by Virtue of which, the Impositions upon

"all Goods and Merchandizes, brought into the *Spanish* Low "Countries by the Sea, are to equal those laid on Goods and "Merchandizes imported by the *Scheld*, and the Canals of *Sass* "and *Swynn*, and other Mouths of the Sea adjoining; yet no "Care is taken to preserve that Equality upon the Exportation "of those Goods out of the *Spanish* Provinces, into those "Countries and Places, which, by Virtue of this Treaty, are "to be in the Possession of the States; the Consequence of "which must, in Time, be, and your Commons are informed, "that in some Instances it has already proved to be the Case, "that the Impositions upon Goods carried into those Countries "and Places, by the Subjects of the States-General, will be taken "off, whilst those upon the Goods imported by your Majesty's "Subjects remain: By which Means, *Great-Britain* will entirely "lose this most beneficial Branch of Trade, which it hath been "in all Ages possessed of, even from the Time when those "Countries were governed by the House of *Burgundy*, one of the "most antient, as well as the most useful Allies to the Crown "of *England*.

"WITH regard to the other Dominions and Territories of "*Spain*, your Majesty's Subjects have always been distinguished "in their Commerce with them, and both by antient Treaties, "and an uninterrupted Custom, have enjoyed greater Privileges "and Immunities of Trade, than either the *Hollanders*, or any "other Nation whatsoever. And that wise and excellent "Treaty of the Grand Alliance provides effectually for the "Security and Continuance of these valuable Privileges to "*Great-Britain*, in such a Manner, as that each Nation might be "left at the End of the War, upon the same Foot as it stood at "the Commencement of it. But this Treaty we now complain "of, instead of confirming your Subjects Rights, surrenders "and destroys them; for although by the sixteenth and seven-"teenth Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, made between his "Catholick Majesty and the States-General, all Advantages of "Trade are stipulated for, and granted to the *Hollanders*, "equal to what the *English* enjoyed; yet the Crown of *England* "not being a Party to that Treaty, the Subjects of *England* "have never submitted to those Articles of it, nor even the

"*Spaniards* themselves ever observed them; but this Treaty "revives those Articles in Prejudice of *Great Britain*, and makes "your Majesty a Party to them, and even a Guarantee to the "States-General, for Privileges against your own People.

"In how deliberate and extraordinary a Manner your "Majesty's Ambassador consented to deprive your Subjects "of their antient Rights, and your Majesty of the Power of "procuring to them any new Advantage, most evidently "appears from his own Letters, which, by your Majesty's "Directions, have been laid before your Commons: For when "Matters of Advantage to your Majesty, and to your Kingdom, "had been offered, as proper to be made Parts of this Treaty, "they were refused to be admitted by the States-General, upon "this Reason and Principle, that nothing foreign to the "Guaranties of the Succession, and of the Barrier, should be "mingled with them; notwithstanding which, the States-"General had no sooner received Notice of a Treaty of "Commerce concluded between your Majesty and the present "Emperor, but they departed from the Rule proposed before, "and insisted upon the Article, of which your Commons now "complain; which Article your Majesty's Ambassador allowed "of, although equally foreign to the Succession, or the Barrier; "and although he had for that Reason departed from other "Articles, which would have been for the Service of his own "Country.

"We have forborne to trouble your Majesty with general "Observations upon this Treaty, as it relates to and affects the "Empire, and other Parts of *Europe*. The Mischiefs, which "arise from it to *Great-Britain*, are what only we have presumed "humbly to represent to you. As they are very evident, and very "great; and as it appears, that the Lord Viscount *Townsend* "had not any Orders, or Authority, for concluding several of "those Articles, which are most prejudicial to your Majesty's "Subjects; we have thought we could do no less than declare "your said Ambassador, who negotiated and signed, and all "others who advised the ratifying of this Treaty, Enemies to "your Majesty and your Kingdom.

"Upon these faithful Informations, and Advices from your

"Commons, we assure our selves, your Majesty, in your great "Goodness to your People, will rescue them from those Evils, "which the private Counsels of ill-designing Men have exposed "them to; and that in your great Wisdom you will find some "Means for the explaining, and amending, the several Articles "of this Treaty, so as that they may consist with the Interest of "*Great-Britain*, and with real and lasting Friendship between "your Majesty and the States-General."

BETWEEN this Representation and the first Debates upon the Subject of it, several Weeks had passed; during which time the Parliament had other Matters likewise before them that deserve to be mentioned. For, on the 9th of *February* was repealed the Act for naturalizing Foreign Protestants; which had been contrived under the last Ministry; and, as many People thought, to very evil Purposes. By this Act any Foreigner, who would take the Oaths to the Government, and profess himself a Protestant of whatever Denomination, was immediatly Naturalized; and had all the Priviledges of an *English*-born Subject at the expence of a Shilling. Most Protestants abroad differ from Us in the Point of Church Government; so that all the Acquisitions by this Act would encrease the Number of Dissenters; and therefore the Proposal that such Foreigners should be obliged to conform to the Established Worship, was rejected. But, because several Persons were fond of this Project, as a Thing that would be of mighty Advantage to the Kingdom; I shall say a few Words upon it.

The Maxim, That People are the Riches of a Nation, hath been very crudely understood by many Writers and Reasoners upon that Subject. There are several Ways by which People are brought into a Country: Sometimes, a Nation is invaded and subdued, and the Conquerors seize the Lands, and make the Natives their Under-Tenants and Servants. Colonies have been always planted where the Natives were driven out or destroyed, or the Land uncultivated and waste. In those Countries where the Lord of the Soil is Master of the Labour and Liberty of his Tenants, or of Slaves bought by his Money, Mens Riches are reckoned by the Number of their Vassals:

And sometimes in Governments newly instituted, where there are not People to till the Ground, many Laws have been made to encourage and allure Numbers from the neighbouring Countries. And in all these Cases, the New Comers have either Land allotted them, or are Slaves to the Proprietors. But, to invite helpless Families by Thousands into a Kingdom inhabited like Ours, without Lands to give them, and where the Laws will not allow that they should be Part of the Property as Servants, is a wrong Application of the Maxim; and the same thing in great, as Infants dropt at the Doors, which are only a Burthen and Charge to the Parish. The true way of multiplying Mankind to publick Advantage in such a Country as *England*, is to invite from abroad only able Handicrafts-Men and Artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient Share of Property to secure them from Want: To enact and enforce Sumptuary Laws against Luxury, and all Excesses in Cloathing, Furniture, and the like: To encourage Matrimony, and reward, as the *Romans* did, those who have a certain Number of Children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere Consequence of this Law for a General Naturalization; or whether, as many surmised, it had some other Meaning; it appeared manifestly by the Issue, that the Publick was a Loser by every Individual among them: And, that a Kingdom can no more be the Richer by such an Importation, than a Man can be fatter by a Wen; which is unsightly and troublesome at best, and intercepts that Nourishment which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole Body.

About a Fortnight after, the Commons sent up a Bill for securing the Freedom of Parliaments by limiting the Number of Members in that house, who should be allowed to possess Employments under the Crown. Bills to the same effect, promoted by both Parties, had after making the like Progress, been rejected in former Parliaments; the Court and Ministry who will ever be against such a Law, having usually a greater Influence in the House of Lords: And so it happened now, although that Influence were less. I am apt to think, that such a Law would be too thorow a Reformation in one Point, while we have so many Corruptions in the rest: Or, perhaps the

Regulations already made on that Article, are sufficient; by which several Employments incapacitate a Man from being chosen a Member; and all of them bring it to a new Election. For my own part, when I consider the Temper of particular Persons, and by what Maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private Capacities, I cannot well conceive how such a Bill should obtain a Majority; unless every Man expected to be one of the Fifty; which I think was the Limitation intended.

About the same time likewise, the House of Commons advanced one considerable Step towards securing us against farther Impositions from our Allies: Resolving, that the additional Forces should be continued; but, with a Condition that the *Dutch* should make good their Proportion of Three Fifths to Two Fifths; which those Confederates had so long and in so great a Degree neglected. The Duke of *Marlborough*'s Deduction of Two and a Half *per Cent.* from the Pay of the Foreign Troops was also applyed for carrying on the War.

Lastly, within this Period is to be included the Act passed to prevent the Disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in *Scotland*, in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*. It is known enough, That the most considerable of the Nobility and Gentry there, as well as great Numbers of the People, dread the Tyrannical Discipline of those Synods and Presbyteries; and, at the same time have the utmost Contempt for the Abilities and Tenets of their Teachers. It was besides thought an Inequality beyond all appearance of Reason or Justice, That Dissenters of every Denomination here, who are the Meanest and most Illiterate Part among us, should possess a Toleration by Law, under colour of which they might upon occasion be bold enough to insult the Religion established; while those of the Episcopal Church in *Scotland* groaned under a real Persecution. The only specious Objection against this Bill was, That it set the Religion by Law in both Parts of the Island upon a different Foot, directly contrary to the Union; because by an Act passed this very Session against Occasional Conformity, our Dissenters were

shut out from all Employments. A Petition from *Carstairs* and other *Scotch* Professors against this Bill was offered to the House, but not accepted; And a Motion made by the other Party to receive a Clause that should restrain all Persons who have any Office in *Scotland* from going to Episcopal Meetings, passed in the Negative. It is manifest, that the Promoters of this Clause, were not moved by any Regard for *Scotland*; which is by no means their Favorite at present; only they hoped, that if it were made part of a Law, it might occasion such a Choice of Representatives in both Houses from *Scotland* as would be a considerable Strength to their Faction here. But the Proposition was in itself extremely Absurd; That so many Lords and other Persons of Distinction, who have great Employments, Pensions, Posts in the Army, and other Places of Profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant Attendance at the Court, and utterly dislike their National way of Worship, should be deprived their Liberty of Conscience at Home: Not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take care of the Revenue, and other Affairs; who would ill digest the Changing their Religion for that of *Scotland*.

WITH a farther View of Favour towards the Episcopal Clergy of *Scotland*, Three Members of that Country were directed to bring in a Bill for restoring the Patrons to their antient Right of Presenting Ministers to the vacant Churches there; which the Kirk during the Height of their Power had obtained for themselves. And (to conclude this Subject at once) the Queen at the Close of the Session commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to acquaint the House, That pursuant to their Address, the Profits arising from the Bishops Estates in *Scotland*, which remained in the Crown, should be applyed to the Support of such of the Episcopal Clergy there, as would take the Oaths to Her Majesty.

NOTHING could more amply justify the Proceedings of the Queen and Her Ministers for Two Years past, than that famous Representation above at large recited: the unbiassed Wisdom of the Nation after the strictest Enquiry confirming those Facts upon which Her Majesty's Counsels were grounded.

And, many Persons who were before enclined to believe; that the Allies and the late Ministry had been too much loaded by the Malice, Misrepresentation, or Ignorance of Writers; were now fully convinced of their Mistake by so great an Authority.

UPON this Occasion I cannot forbear doing Justice to Mr. *St. John*, who had been Secretary at War for several Years under the former Administration, where he had the Advantage of observing how Affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was One of those who shared in the present Treasurer's Fortune; resigning his Employment at the same time; and, upon that Minister's being again taken into Favour, this Gentleman was sometime after made Secretary of State. There he began afresh by the Opportunities of his Station to look into past Miscarriages; and by the force of an extraordinary Genius, and Application to Publick Affairs, joined with an invincible Eloquence; laid open the Scene of Miscarriages and Corruptions through the whole Course of the War in so evident a manner, that the House of Commons seemed principally directed in their Resolutions upon this Enquiry by His Information and Advice.

IN a short time after the Representation was published, there appeared a Memorial in the *Dutch* Gazette, as by Order of the States; reflecting very much upon the said Representation, as well as the Resolutions on which it was founded; pretending to deny some of the Facts, and to extenuate others. This Memorial translated into *English*, a common Writer of News had the Boldness to insert in One of his Papers: A Complaint whereof being made to the House of Commons, they Voted the pretended Memorial to be a false, scandalous, and malicious Libel; and Ordered the Printer to be taken into Custody.

IT was the Misfortune of the Ministers, that while they were baited by their professed Adversaries of the discontented Faction, acting in Confederacy with the Emissaries of Foreign Powers, to break the Measures Her Majesty had taken towards a Peace, they met at the same time with frequent Difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue

the same general End; but sometimes disapproved the Methods, as too slack and remiss, or in appearance now and then perhaps a little dubious. In the first Session of this Parliament, a considerable Number of Gentlemen, all Members of the House of Commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what Course they ought to steer in this new World. They intended to revive a Country-Party in Parliament; which might as in former Times oppose the Court in any Proceedings they disliked. The whole Body was of such who profess what is commonly called the High Church Principles; upon which account they were irreconcileable Enemies to the late Ministry, and all its Adherents. On the other side, considering the Temper of the New Men in Power; that they were Persons who had formerly moved between the Two Extreams; those Gentlemen who were impatient for an entire Change, and to see all their Adversaries laid at once as low as the Dust, began to be apprehensive that the Work would be done by halves: But the Juncture of Affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the least Precipitation, although the Queen and her first Minister had been disposed to it, which most certainly they were not. Neither did the Court seem at all Uneasie at this League formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest Gentlemen, who wished well to their Country, in which Both entirely agreed, although they might differ about the Means: Or, if such a Society would begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their Endeavours ineffectual. But in the Course of that first Session, many of this Society became gradually reconciled to the New Ministry, whom they found to be greater Objects of the Common Enemy's Hatred than themselves; and the Attempt of *Guiscard*, as it gain'd farther Time for deferring the Disposal of Employments; so it much endeared that Person to the Kingdom, who was so near falling a Sacrifice to the Safety of his Country. Upon the last Session, of which I am now writing, this *October* Club (as it was called) renewed their usual Meetings, but were now very much altered from their Original Institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the Design, as of no farther Use.

They saw a Point carryed in the House of Lords against the Court, that might end in the Ruin of the Kingdom; and they observed the Enemy's whole Artillery directly levelled at the Treasurer's Head. In short, the Majority of the Club had so good an Understanding with the great Men at Court, that Two of the latter, to shew the World how fair a Correspondence there was between the Court and Country-Party, consented to be at one of their Dinners. But, this Intercourse had an Event very different from what was expected: For, immediatly the more zealous Members of that Society broke off from the rest, and composed a new One, made up of Gentlemen who seemed to expect little from the Court, and perhaps with a mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayd. Many of these were observed to retain an incurable Jealousy of the Treasurer; and to interpret all Delays, which they could not comprehend, as a Reserve of Favour in this Minister to the Persons and Principles of the abandoned Party.

Upon an Occasion offered about this time, Some Persons out of a Distrust to the Treasurer, endeavoured to obtain a Point which could not have been carryed without putting all into Confusion. A Bill was brought into the House of Commons for appointing Commissioners to examine the Value of all Lands and other Interests granted by the Crown since the Thirteenth Day of *February*, 1688, and upon what Considerations such Grants were made. The united Country-Interest in the House was extremely sett upon passing this Bill. They had conceived an Opinion from former Precedents, That the Court would certainly oppose all Steps towards a Resumption of Grants; And those who were apprehensive that the Treasurer inclined the same way, proposed the Bill should be Tacked to another for raising a Fund by Duties upon Soap and Paper; which hath been always imputed, whether justly or no, as a favourite Expedient of those called the Tory Party. At the same time, it was very well known, that the House of Lords had made a fixed and unanimous Resolution against giving their Concurrence to the passing of such united Bills; so that the Consequences of

this Project must have been, To bring the Ministry under Difficulties, to stop the necessary Supplies, and endanger the good Correspondence between both Houses. Notwithstanding all which, the Majority carryed it for a Tack, and the Committee was instructed accordingly to make the Two Bills into One. Whereby the Worst that could happen, would have followed, if the Treasurer had not convinced the warm Leaders in this Affair by undeniable Reasons, that the Means they were useing would certainly disappoint the End; that neither Himself nor any other of the Queen's Servants were at all against this Enquiry, and he promised his utmost Credit to help forward the Bill in the House of Lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up Single; but their Lordships gave it another kind of Reception. Those who were of the Side opposite to the Court, withstood it to a Man, as in a Party-Cause: Among the rest, Some were personally concerned, and Others by their Friends and Relations, which they supposed a sufficient Excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those whose Grants were antecedent to this intended Inspection, began to be alarmed, as Men whose Neighbour's Houses are on fire. A Shew of Zeal for the late King's Honour, occasioned many Reflections upon the Date of this Enquiry, which was to commence with His Reign: And the Earl of *Nottingham* who had now flung away the Mask which he lately pulled off, like One who had no other View but that of Vengeance against the Queen and her Friends, acted consistently enough with his Design, by Voting as a Lord against the Bill, after he had directed his Son in the House of Commons to Vote for the Tack.

THUS miscarryed this popular Bill for Appointing Commissioners to Enquire into Royal Grants: But whether Those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own Interest hath been made a Question, which perhaps Time will resolve. It was Agreed that the Queen by Her own Authority might have issued out a Commission for such an Enquiry; and every body believed that the Intention of the Parliament was only to tax the Grants with about Three Years Purchase, and at the same time establish the Proprietors in possession of the

Remainder for-ever: So that upon the whole the Grantees would have been great Gainers by such an Act; since the Titles of those Lands as they stood then, were hardly of Half Value with others either for Sale or Settlement. Besides, the Example of the *Irish* Forfeitures might have taught these precarious Owners, That when the House of Commons hath once engaged in a Pursuit which they think is right; although it be stopt or suspended for a while, they will be sure to renew it upon every Opportunity that offers, and seldome fail of Success. So, for Instance, if the Resumption should happen to be made part of a Supply, which can easily be done without the Objection of a Tack, the Grantees might then have possibly much harder Conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the Resuming of Royal Grants be consistent with good Policy or Justice would be too long a Disquisition. Besides, the Profusion of Kings is not likely to be a Grievance for the future, because there have been Laws made since to provide against that Evil; or indeed rather, because the Crown has nothing left to give away. But the Objection made against the Date of the intended Enquiry was invidious and trifling; For King *James* II. made very few Grants; He was a better Manager, and Squandring was none of his Faults. Whereas the late King, who came over here a perfect Stranger to our Laws and our People, regardless of Posterity wherein He was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better strengthen a new Title, than by purchasing Friends at the Expence of every thing which was in his Power to part with.

THE Reasonableness of uniting to a Money Bill One of a different nature, which is usually called TACKING, hath been likewise much Debated, and will admitt of Argument enough. In ancient Times, when a Parliament was held, the Commons first proposed their Grievances to be redressed, and then gave their Aids; so that it was a perfect Bargain between the King and the Subject. This fully answered the Ends of Tacking. Aids were then demanded upon Occasions which would hardly pass at present, such, for instance, as those for making the King's Son a Knight, marrying his eldest Daughter; and some

others of the like sort. Most of the Money went into the King's Coffers for his private Use, neither was He accountable for any Part of it. Hence arose the Form of the Kings Thanking his Subjects for their Benevolence, when any Subsidies, Tenths, or Fifteenths were given him; But the Supplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot properly be called a particular Benefit to the Crown, because they are all appropriated to their several Uses: So that when the House of Commons Tack to a Money Bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their Country in as great Difficulties as the Prince. On the other Side, there have been several Regulations made through the Course of Time in Parliamentary Proceedings; among which it is grown a Rule, That a Bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same Session; whereby the Commons seem to have lost the Advantage of purchasing a Redress of their Grievances by granting Supplies: Which upon some Emergences hath put them upon this Expedient of Tacking; So that there is more to be said on each Side the Case, than is convenient for me to trouble the Reader or myself in deducing.

AMONG the Matters of Importance during this Session, we may Justly number the Proceedings of the House of Commons with relation to the Press; since Her Majesty's Message to the House, of *January* the Seventeenth, concludes with a Paragraph, representing the Great Licences taken in publishing False and Scandalous Libels, such as are a Reproach to any Government; and Recommending to them to find a Remedy equal to the Mischief. The meaning of these Words in the Message seems to be confined to those Weekly and Daily Papers and Pamphlets, reflecting upon the Persons and the Management of the Ministry. But the House of Commons, in their Address which answers this Message, make an Addition to the Blasphemies against God and Religion; and it is Certain, that Nothing would be more for the Honour of the Legislature, than some Effectual law for putting a Stop to this universal Mischief; but as the person who Advised the Queen in that part of her Message, had only then in his Thoughts the redressing of the political and factious

libels, I think he ought to have taken Care, by his great Credit in the House, to have Proposed some ways by which that Evil might be Removed; the Law for Taxing single Papers having produced a Quite contrary Effect, as was then Foreseen by many Persons, and has since been found True by Experience. For the Adverse Party, full of Rage and Leisure since their Fall, and unanimous in Defence of their Cause, employ a sett of Writers by Subscription, who are well Versed in all the topics of Defamation, and have a Style and Genius levelled to the Generality of Readers; while those who would draw their Pens on the Side of their Prince and Country are Discouraged by this Tax, which Exceeds the Intrinsick value both of the Materials and the Work; a thing, if I be not Mistaken, without example.

It must be Acknowledged, that the bad Practices of Printers have been such, as to Deserve the Severest animadversions of the Publick; and it is to be wished, the party Quarrels of the Pen were always managed with Decency and Truth: but, in the Mean time, to open the Mouths of our Enemies, and Shut our own, is a turn of Politicks that wants a Little to be Explained. Perhaps the Ministry now in Possession, because they are in Possession, may despise such Trifles as this; and it is not to be Denied, that Acting as they do upon a National interest, they may seem to stand in less Need of such Supports, or may Safely Fling them down as no longer Necessary. But, if the Leaders of the other Party had Proceeded by this Maxim, their Power would have been None at all, or of very Short duration; and had not some Active pens fallen in to improve the Good Dispositions of the People upon the late Change, and Continued since to Overthrow the Falsehood plentifully, and sometimes not Unplausibly, scattered by the Adversaries, I am very much in Doubt whether those at the Helm would now have reason to be Pleased with theirSuccess. A particular person may with more Safety despise the Opinion of the Vulgar, because it does a Wise man no real Harm or Good, but the Administration a Great deal; and whatever side has the sole Management of the Pen, will soon find hands enough to Write down their Enemies as low as they please. If the

People had no other idea of those whom Her Majesty trusts in her Greatest Affairs, than what is conveyed by the Passions of such as would Compass sea and land for their Destruction; what could they Expect, but to be torn in Pieces by the Rage of the Multitude? How necessary therefore was it, that the World should, from time to time, be Undeceived by true Representations of Persons and Facts, which have kept the Kingdom steady to its Interests, against all the Attacks of a cunning and virulent Faction!

HOWEVER, the Mischiefs of the Press were too Exorbitant to be cured by such a Remedy as a Tax upon the Smaller papers; and a Bill for a much more Effectual regulation of it was brought into the House of Commons, but so late in the Session, that there was no Time to pass it; for there has Hitherto always appeared an Unwillingness to Cramp overmuch the Liberty of the Press, whether from the Inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little; or whether the Benefit proposed by each Party to themselves, from the Service of their Writers towards the Recovering or Preserving of Power, be thought to Outweigh the Disadvantages. However it came about, this Affair was put off from one Week to another, and the Bill not brought into the House till the 8th of *June*. It was Committed Three Days after, and then heard of no more. In this Bill there was a Clause inserted (whether industriously with Design to overthrow it) that the Author's Name and Place of Abode should be set to every printed Book, Pamphlet or Paper; which I believe no Man who hath the least Regard to Learning would give his Consent to. For, besides the Objection to this Clause from the Practice of pious Men, who in publishing excellent Writings for the Service of Religion, have chosen out of an humble Christian Spirit to conceal their Names; It is most certain, that all Persons of true Genius or Knowledge have an invincible Modesty and Suspiciousness of themselves upon their first sending their Thoughts into the World: And that those who are Dull or Superficial, void of all Taste and Judgement, have Dispositions directly contrary. So that if this Clause had made Part of a Law, there would have been an End in all

likelihood of any valuable Production for the future either in Wit or Learning: And that insufferable Race of stupid People, who are now every Day loading the Press, would then reign alone, in time destroy our very first Principles of Reason, and introduce Barbarity amongst us; which is already kept out with so much Difficulty, and by so few Hands.

HAVING given an Account of the several Steps made towards a Peace from the first Overtures begun by *France*, to the Commencing of the Second Session; I shall in the Fourth Book relate the Particulars of this Great Negociation from the Period last mentioned to the present Time: And because there happened some Passages in both Houses occasioned by the Treaty, I shall take notice of them under that Head. There only remains to be mentioned One Affair of another nature, which the Lords and Commons took under Cognizance after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this Part of my Subject.

THE Sect of QUAKERS among us, whose System of Religion first founded upon Enthusiasm hath been many years grown into a Craft, held it an unlawful Action to take an Oath to a Magistrate. This Doctrine was taught them by the Author of their Sect, from a literal Application of the Text, *Swear not at all.* But being a Body of People wholly turned to Trade and Commerce of all kind, they found themselves on many Occasions deprived of the Benefit of the Law, as well as of Voting at Elections by a foolish Scruple, which their Obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this Inconvenience, these People had Credit enough in the late Reign, to have an Act passed, That their Solemn Affirmation and Declaration should be accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Form. The great Endeavour in those Times was to lay all Religion upon a Level; in order to which, this Maxim was advanced, That no Man ought to be deprived the Liberty of Serving his Country, upon account of a different Belief in Speculative Opinions; Under which Term some People were apt to include every Doctrine of Christianity. However this Act in favour of the Quakers was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant Dependance; and expired of course after a

certain Term, if it were not continued. These People had therefore very early in the Session offered a Petition to the House of Commons for a Continuance of the Act, which was not suffered to be brought up. Upon this they applyed themselves to the Lords, who passed a Bill accordingly, and sent it down to the Commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first Reading.

And indeed, it is not easie to conceive upon what Motives the Legislature of so great a Kingdom could descend so low as to be ministerial and subservient to the Caprices of the most absurd Heresy that ever appeared in the World; and this in a Point, where those deluding or deluded People stand singular from all the rest of Mankind, who live under Civil Government. But the Designs of an aspiring Party at that time were not otherwise to be compassed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church. And I am fully convinced, That if a Sett of Sceptick Philosophers (who profess to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their Tenets with some Corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same Privilege; and that a Law would have been Enacted, whereby the Solemn *Doubt* of the People called Scepticks should be accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Form. So absurd are all Maxims formed upon the inconsistent Principles of Faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the Standard of Truth and Reason.

Lib. 4.

WE left the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and those of the Enemy preparing to Assemble at *Utrecht* on the 1st of *January* N. S. in order to form a Congress for negociating a General Peace; wherein although the *Dutch* had made a mighty Merit of their Complyance with the Queen, yet, they sett all Instruments at work, when the Parliament should meet, to inflame both Houses against Her Majesty's Measures. Mons. *Bothmar* the *Hanover* Envoy took care to print and disperse His Memorial of which I have formerly spoken. *Hoffman* the Emperor's Resident was soliciting for a Yatcht and Convoys to bring over Prince *Eugene* at this Juncture, fortifyed, as it was given out, with great Proposals from the Imperial Court. The Earl of *Nottingham* became a Convert for Reasons already mentioned. Money was distributed where Occasion required; And the Dukes of *Sommerset* and *Marlborough* together with the Earl of *Godolphin* had put themselves at the Head of the Junta and their Adherents in order to attack the Court.

SOME Days after the Vote passed the House of Lords for admitting into the Address the Earl of *Nottingham*'s Clause against any Peace without *Spain*, Mons. *Buys* the *Dutch* Envoy who had been deep in all the Consultations with the discontented Party for carrying that Point, was desired to meet with the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. Secretary *St. John*, in order to sign a Treaty between the Queen and the States to subsist after a Peace. There the Envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the many Advantages stipulated for *Britain* with *France*; said it was his Opinion, that those Ministers ought in respect of the Friendship between both Nations to acquaint him what these Advantages were, and that he looked upon his Country to be entitled by Treaty to share them equally with us: That there was now another

Reason why we should be more disposed to comply with him upon this Head: For since the late Resolution of the House of Lords, he took it for granted, it would a dangerous Step in us to give up *Spain* to a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*; and therefore that we should do well to induce the States, by such a Concession, to help us out of this Difficulty.

MR. *St. John* made answer, that there was not a Man in the Queen's Council capable of so base a Thought: That if *Buys* had any thing to complain of, which was injurious to *Holland*, or justly tending to hurt the good Correspondence between Us, and the States, He was confident Her Majesty would at all times be ready to give it up: But that the Ministers scorned to skreen themselves at the expence of their Country: That the Resolution *Buys* mentioned was chiefly owing to Foreign Ministers intermedling in our Affairs, and would perhaps have an Effect which the Projectors did not foresee: That if the Peace became impracticable, the House of Commons would certainly put the War upon another Foot, and reduce the publick Expence within such a Compass, as our Treaties required in the strictest Sense, and as our present Condition would admit, leaving the Partisans for War to supply the rest.

ALTHOUGH the Secretary believed that this Answer would put an end to such infamous Proposals, it fell out otherwise; for shortly after, Mons. *Buys* applyed himself to the Treasurer, promising to undertake that his Masters should give up the Article of *Spain*, provided they might share with us in the Assiento for Negroes; to which the Treasurer's answer was short, That he would rather lose his Head than consent to such an Offer.

IT is manifest, by this Proceeding that whatever Scheme were forming here at home in this Juncture by the Enemies to Peace, the *Dutch* only designed to fall in with it as far as it would answer their own Account; and by a Strain of the lower Politicks, wherein they must be allowed to excell every Country in *Christendom*, lay upon the watch for a good Bargain, by taking advantage of the Distress themselves had brought upon their nearest Neighbour and Ally.

But the Queen highly resented this Indignity from a Republick upon whom she had conferred such great Obligations. She could not endure that the *Dutch* should employ their Instruments to act in Confederacy with a Cabal of Factious People, who were prepared to sacrifice the Safety of their Prince and Country to the Recovery of that Power they had so long possessed and abused: Her Majesty knew very well that whatever were the mistaken or affected Opinion of some People at home upon the Article of *Spain*, it was a Point the States had long given up; who had very openly told our Ministers, that the War in that Country was only our Concern, and what their Republick had nothing to do with. It is true, the Party Leaders were equally convinced that the Recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many things may be excusable in a professed Adversary fallen under Disgrace; which are highly criminal in an Ally, upon whom we are in that very instant conferring new Favours.

Her Majesty therefore thought it high time to exert herself, and at length put a Stop to Foreign Influence upon *British* Counsels. So that after the Earl of *Nottingham*'s Clause against any Peace without *Spain* was carryed in the House of Lords; Directions were immediately sent to the Earl of *Strafford* at the *Hague* to inform the *Dutch* that it was obtained by a Trick, and would consequently turn to the Disappointment and Confusion of the Contrivers and the Actors. He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved towards the Pensionary and *Dutch* Ministers; to let them know that the Queen thought her self ill-treated, and that they would soon hear what Effects those Measures would have upon a mild and good Temper wrought up to Resentment by repeated Provocations: That the States might have the War continue if they pleased, but that the Queen would not be forced to carry it on after their manner, nor would suffer them to make Her Peace, or to settle the Interests of Her Kingdoms.

To others in *Holland*, who appeared to be more moderate, the Earl was directed to say, that the States were upon a wrong Scent, that their Minister here mistook every thing; that we had promised and would perform all they could reasonably

ask from us in relation to their Barrier and their Trade; and that Mons. *Buys* dealt very unfairly if he had not told them as much. But that *Britain* proceeded in some respects upon a New Scheme of Politicks, would no longer struggle for Impossibilities, nor be amused by Words; That our People come every day more and more to their Senses; And that the Single Dispute at present was, Whether the *Dutch* would joyn with a Faction against the Queen, or with the Nation for Her?

THE Court likewise resolved to discourage Prince *Eugene* from his Journey to *England* which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have spoken before. He was told that the Queen wanted no Exhortations to carry on the War; but the Project of it should be agreed abroad, upon which Her Majesty's Resolutions might soon be signifyed; but until she saw what the Emperour and Allies were ready to do, She would neither promise nor engage for any thing. At the same time Mr. *St. John* told *Hoffman* the Emperor's Resident here, that if the Prince had a mind to divert himself in *London*, the Ministers would do their Part to entertain him, and be sure to trouble him with no manner of Business. This Coldness retarded the Prince's Journey for some Days, but did not prevent it, although he had a second Message by the Queen's Order, with this farther Addition, That his Name had lately been made use of on many Occasions to create a Ferment and stirr up Sedition, and that Her Majesty judged it would be neither safe for Him, nor convenient for Her that he should come over at this Time. But all would not do: It was enough that the Queen did not absolutely forbid him; and the Party-Confederates Foreign and Domestick thought his Presence would be highly necessary for their Service.

TOWARDS the End of *December* the Lord Privy Seal sett out for *Holland*; he was ordered to stop at the *Hague*, and in conjunction with the Earl of *Strafford* to declare to the States in Her Majesty's Name, Her Resolutions to conclude no Peace; wherein the Allies in general, and each Confederate in particular might not find their ample Security, and their reasonable Satisfaction; That She was ready to insist on their Barrier and Advantages in their Trade in the manner the States

themselves should desire, and to concert with them such a Plan of a Treaty as both Powers might be under mutual Engagements never to recede from: That nothing could be of greater Importance than for the Ministers of *Britain* and *Holland* to enter the Congress under the strictest Tyes of Confidence, and entirely to concurr throughout the Course of these Negociations. To which Purpose it was Her Majesty's Pleasure that their Lordships should adjust with the *Dutch* Ministers the best Manner and Method for opening and carrying on the Conferences; and declare themselves instructed to communicate freely their Thoughts and Measures to the Plenipotentiaries of the States, whom they should meet at *Utrecht*, and who they hoped had received the same Instructions.

LASTLY, the two Lords were to signify to the Pensionary and the other Ministers, that Her Majesty's Preparations for the next Campagne were carryed on with all the Dispatch and Vigour which the present Circumstances would allow; And to insist that the same might be done by the States, and that both Powers should join in pressing the Emperour and other Allies to make greater Efforts than they had hitherto done; without which the War must languish, and the Terms of Peace become every day more disadvantageous.

THE two *British* Plenipotentiaries went to *Utrecht* with very large Instructions, and after the usual manner were to make much higher Demands from *France* (at least in behalf of the Allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The Summ of what they had in Charge besides matter of Form, was, To concert with the Ministers of the several Powers engaged against *France* that all Differences arising among them should be accommodated between themselves, without suffering the *French* to interfere; that whatever were proposed to *France* by a Minister of the Alliance, should be backed by the whole Confederacy: That a Time might be fixed for the Conclusion as there had been for the Commencement of the Treaty. *Spain* was to be demanded out of the Hands of the *Bourbon* Family, as the most effectual means for preventing the Union of that Kingdom with *France*; And whatever Conditions the

Allies could agree upon for hindering that Union, their Lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As to the Interests of each Ally in particular, the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to demand *Strasburg* the Fort of *Kehl* with its Dependances and the Town of *Brisac* with its Territory for the Emperour: That *France* should possess *Alsatia* according to the Treaty of *Westphalia*, with the Right of Prefecture only over the Ten Imperial Cities in that Country: That the Fortifications of the said ten Cities be put into the Condition they were in at the time of the said Treaty; except *Landau* which was to be demanded for the Emperour and Empire with Liberty of demolishing the Fortifications: That the *French* King should at a certain Time, and at his own Expence demolish the Fortresses of *Hunningen*, *New-Brisac*, and Fort-*Lewis*, never to be rebuilt.

That the Town and Fortress of *Rhinfelt* should be demanded for the Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel* till that matter be otherwise settled.

That the Clause relating to Religion in the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Riswick*, and contrary to that of *Westphalia* should be annulled, and the State of Religion in *Germany* restored to the Tenour of the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

That *France* should acknowlege the King of *Prussia*, and give him no Disturbance in *Neufchatel* and *Valengin*: That the Principality of *Orange*, and other Estates belonging to the late King *William* should be restored as Law should direct.

That the Duke of *Hanover* should be acknowleged Electour.

That the King of *Portugal* should enjoy all the Advantages stipulated between Him and the Allies.

That the States should have for their Barrier *Furnes*, Fort *Knock*, *Menin*, *Ipres*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, *Maubeuge*, *Douay*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, and *Bouchain*, with their Cannon *&c.* That the *French* King should restore all the Places belonging to *Spain*, now or during this War in his Possession in the *Netherlands*, that such Part of them as should be thought fit, might be allotted likewise for a Barrier to the States. That *France* should grant the Tariff of 1664 to the

States, and Exemption of 50 Pence *per* Tun upon *Dutch* Goods trading to that Kingdom.

BUT that these Articles in favour of the States should not be concluded till the Barrier-Treaty were explained to the Queen's Satisfaction.

THAT the Duke of *Savoy* should be put in possession of all taken from him in this War; and enjoy the Places yielded to him by the Emperour and other Allies: That *France* should likewise yield to him *Exilles*, *Fenestrelles*, *Chaumont*, the Valley of *Pragela*, the Land lying between *Piedmont*, and Mount *Genevre*.

THAT the Article about the Demolition of *Dunkirk* should be explained.

As to *Britain*, the Plenipotentiaries were to insist That *Nieupoort*, *Dendermond*, *Gand* and all Places which appear to be a Barrier rather against *England* than *France*, should either not be given to the *Dutch*, or at least in such a manner, as not to hinder the Queen's Subjects free Passage to and from the *Low Countries*.

THAT the Seventh Article of the Barrier-Treaty, which empowers the States in case of an Attack to put Troops at Discretion in all the Places of the *Low Countries* should be so explained as to be understood only of an Attack from *France*.

THAT *Britain* should trade to the *Low Countries* with the same Privileges as the States themselves.

THAT the Most Christian King should acknowlege the Succession of *Hanover*, and immediatly oblige the Pretender to leave *France*: And that the said King should promise for Himself and Heirs never to acknowlege any Person for King or Queen of *England* otherwise than according to the Settlements now in force.

THAT a Treaty of Commerce should be commenced as soon as possible between *France* and *Britain*, and in the mean time the necessary Points relating to it be settled.

THAT the Isle of *St. Christopher*'s should be surrendered to the Queen, *Hudson*'s Bay restored, *Placentia* and the whole Island of *Newfoundland* yielded to *Britain* by the most Christian

King, who was likewise to quitt all Claim to *Nova Scotia* and *Annapolis Royal.*

THAT *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* should be annexed to the *British* Crown.

THAT the Assiento should be granted to *Britain* for Thirty Years with the same Advantage as to *France*, with an extent of Ground in the River of *Plata* for keeping and refreshing the Negroes.

THAT *Spain* should grant to the Subjects of *Britain* as large Privileges, as to any other Nation whatsoever; As likewise an Exemption of Duties amounting to an Advantage of at least 15 *per Cent.*

THAT Satisfaction should be demanded for what should appear to be justly Due to Her Majesty from the Emperour and the States.

LASTLY, That the Plenipotentiaries should concert with those of the Protestant Allies the most effectual Methods for restoring the Protestants of *France* to their Religious and Civil Liberties, and for the immediate Release of those who are now in the Gallies.

WHAT Part of these Demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the Sequel of this Negociation. But there was no Difficulty of moment enough to retard the Peace, except a Method for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain* under One Prince, and the settling the Barrier for *Holland*, which last as claimed by the States could in Prudence and Safety be no more allowed by Us than by *France.*

THE States-General having appointed Mons. *Buys* to be One of their Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, that Minister left *England* a few days after the Lord Privy Seal. In his last Conference with the Lords of the Council He absolutly declared that his Masters had done their utmost both by Sea and Land, that it was Unreasonable to expect more; That they had exceeded their Proportion even beyond *Britain*: And that as to the Emperour and other Allies He knew no Expedient left for making them act with more Vigour, than to pursue them with pathetical Exhortations.

THIS Minister was sent over hither instructed and empowered by Halves. The Ferment raised by the united Endeavours of our Party Leaders, among whom He was a constant Fellow-labourer to the utmost of his Skill, had wholly confounded him; and thinking to take the Advantage of negociating well for *Holland* at the Expence of *Britain*, he acted but ill for his own Countrey, and worse for the common Cause. However, the Queen's Ministers and He parted in Terms of the greatest Civility; And Her Majesty's Present was double the Value of what is usual to the Character He bore.

As the Queen was determined to alter her Measures in making War, so She thought nothing would so much convince the States of the Necessity of a Peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this Resolution, which Her Ambassadour *Strafford* then at the *Hague* was accordingly directed to do. And if they should object of what ill Consequence it would be for the Enemy to know, That Her Majesty designed to lessen Her Expences, He might answer that the Ministers here were sorry for it; but the *Dutch* could only blame themselves for forcing into such a Necessity a Princess to whose Friendship they owed the Preservation and Grandeur of their Republick, and chusing to lean on a broken Faction, rather than place their Confidence in the Queen.

IT was Her Majesty's earnest Desire, That there should be a perfect Agreement at this Treaty between the Ministers of all the Allies, than which nothing could be more effectual to make *France* comply with their just Demands: Above all She directed Her Plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest Confidence with those of *Holland*, and that after the States had consented to explain the Barrier-Treaty to her reasonable Satisfaction, both Powers should form between them a Plan of a General Peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the Quiet of *Europe* as well as the particular Interests of each Confederate. The *Dutch* were accordingly pressed before the Congress opened to come to some Temperament upon that famous Treaty, because the Ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the House of Commons, by which the Resentment of the Nation

would probably appear against those who had been Actors and Advisers in it. But Mons. *Buys*, who usually spoke for his Colleagues, was full of Opposition, began to expostulate upon the Advantages *Britain* had stipulated with *France*, and to insist that his Masters ought to share equally in them All, but especially the Assiento Contract. So that no Progress was made in fixing a previous good Correspondence betwixt *Britain* and the States, which Her Majesty had so earnestly recommended.

CERTAIN Regulations having been agreed upon for avoiding of Ceremony, and other Inconveniences; The Conferences began at *Utrecht* upon the 29th of *January* N. S. 1711–12 at Ten in the Morning; the Ministers of the Allies going into the Town house at One Door, and those of *France* in the same instant at Another. They all took their Seats without Distinction. And the Bishop of *Bristow*, Lord Privy Seal, first Plenipotentiary of *Britain* opened the Assembly with a short Speech, directed to the Ministers of *France* in the following words:

"MESSIEURS

"WE are here met to Day in the Name of God to enter "upon a Treaty of General Peace between the High Allies "and the King your Master. We bring sincere Intentions "and express Orders from our Superiors to concurr on their "Part with whatever may advance and perfect so salutary and "Christian a Work.

"ON the other side, We hope You have the same Disposition, "and that your Orders will be so full, as to be able without "loss of Time to answer the Expectation of the High Allies, "by explaining yourselves clearly and roundly upon the "Points we shall have to settle in these Conferences, and that "You will perform this in so plain and specifick a manner as "every Prince and State in the Confederacy may find a just and "reasonable Satisfaction."

THE *French* began by promising to explain the Overtures which Mons. *Mesnager* had delivered to the Queen some Months before, and to give in a specifick Project of what their Master would yield provided the Allies would each give a

specifick Answer, by making their several Demands; which Method after many Difficulties and affected Delays in the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had with the utmost Discontent seen Her Majesty at the Head of this Negociation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their Ill-humour upon every Occasion: They raised endless Difficulties about settling the Barrier-Treaty as the Queen desired; And in One of the first general Conferences they would not suffer the *British* Secretary to take the Minutes, but nominated some *Dutch* Professor for that Office, which the Queen refused, and resented their Behaviour as an useless Cavil, intended only to shew their want of Respect. The *British* Plenipotentiaries had likewise great reason to suspect that the *Dutch* were at this time privatly endeavouring to engage in some separate Measures with *France* by the Intervention of one *Molo* a busy factious Agent at *Amsterdam*, who had been often employed in such Intrigues: That this was the Cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their Steps, in hopes to break the Congress, and find better Terms for their Trade and Barrier from the *French* than We could ever think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* Ministers did also apply themselves with Industry to cultivate the Imperial Plenipotentiaries in order to secure all Advantages of Commerce with *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, in case those Dominions could be procured for the Emperour. For this reason they avoided settling any general Plan of Peace, in concert with the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, which Her Majesty so much desired; and Mons. *Buys* plainly told their Lordships, that it was a Point which neither He nor his Collegues would consent to, before the States were admitted equal Sharers with *Britain* in the Trade to *Spain*.

The Court having received notice of this intractable Temper in the *Dutch*, gave direct Orders to the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain* for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross Inequalities of the Barrier-Treaty; since nothing was more usual or agreeable to Reason than for Princes who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial Contracts, to expect they

should be modifyed and explained: And since it now appeared by the Votes of the House of Commons that the Sence of the Nation agreed with what Her Majesty desired, If the *Dutch* Ministers would not be brought to any moderate Terms upon this Demand, their Lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular Concessions, made to *Britain* by *France*, and form them into a Treaty: For the Queen was determined never to allow the States any Share in the Assiento, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*, nor could think it reasonable that they should be upon an equal foot with Her in the Trade of *Spain*, to the Conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

NOR was the Conduct of the Imperial Ministers at this time less perplexing than that of the States; both those Powers appearing fully bent either upon breaking off the Negociation, or upon forcing from the Queen those Advantages She expected by it for her own Kingdoms. Her Majesty therefore thought fit about the beginning of *March* to send Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near Relation of the Treasurers to *Utrecht*, fully informed in Her Mind, which he was directed to communicate to the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

MR. *Harley* stopped at the *Hague* in his Way to *Utrecht*, and there told the Pensioner that nothing had happened lately in *England*, but what was long ago foretold Him as well as the other Ministers of the Allies: That the Proceedings of the House of Commons particularly about the Barrier-Treaty must be chiefly ascribed to the manner in which the Queen and the Nation had been treated by Mons. *Bothmar*, Count *Gallas*, *Buys* and other Foreign Ministers: That if the States would yet enter into a strict Union with the Queen, give her Satisfaction in the said Treaty, and join in concert with her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, a Safe and Advantageous Peace might be obtained for the whole Alliance: Otherwise Her Majesty must save her own Country, and join with such of her Allies, as would join with Her.

AS to the War: That the Conduct of the Allies, and their Opposition to the Queen by private Intrigues carryed on among her own Subjects, as well as by open Remonstrances,

had made the House of Commons take that Matter out of the Hands of the Ministers.

LASTLY, That in case the present Treaty were broken off by the *Dutch* refusing to comply, Her Majesty thought it reasonable to insist that some cautionary Places be put into her Hands as Pledges that no other Negociation should be entered into by the States General without her Participation.

MR. *Harley*'s Instructions to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries were, That their Lordships should press those of *France* to open themselves as far as possible in concerting such a Plan of a General Peace as might give reasonable Satisfaction to all the Confederates, and such as her Parliament would approve: That the People of *England* beleived *France* would consent to such a Plan, wherein if they found themselves deceived, they would be as eager for prosecuting the War, as ever.

THEIR Lordships were to declare openly to the *Dutch*, that no Extremity should make Her Majesty depart from insisting to have the Assiento for her own Subjects, and to keep *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*. But if the States would agree with Her upon those Three Heads, she would be content to reduce the Trade of *Spain*, and *West-Indies* to the Condition it was in under the late Catholick King *Charles* II.

THE *French* were farther to be pressed that the Pretender should be immediatly sent out of that Kingdom and that the most effectual Method should be taken for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain* under one Prince.

ABOUT this Time Her Majesty's Ministers and those of the Allies at *Utrecht* delivered in the several *Postulata* or Demands of their Masters to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, which having been since made publick, and all of them except those of *Britain* very much varying in the Course of the Negociation, the Reader would be but ill-entertained with a Transcript of them here.

UPON Intelligence of the last Dauphin's Death, the Father, Son, and Grandson, all of that Title dying within the Compass of a Year: Mons. *Gaultier* went to *France* with Letters to the Marquis de *Torcy*, to propose Her Majesty's Expedient for

preventing the Union of that Kingdom with *Spain*; which as it was the most important Article to be settled in order to a Secure Peace for *Europe*, so it was a Point that required to be speedily adjusted under the present Circumstances and Situation of the *Bourbon* Family; there being only left a Child of Two Years old to stand between the Duke of *Anjou* and his Succeeding to the Crown of *France*.

HER Majesty likewise pressed *France* by the same Dispatches to send full Instructions totheir Plenipotentiaries empowering them to offer the Allies such a Plan of a Peace as might give reasonable Satisfaction to all her Allies.

THE Queen's Proposal for preventing an Union between *France* and *Spain* was, That *Philip* should formally renounce the Kingdom of *France* for Himself and his Posterity, And that this Renunciation should be confirmed by the Cortes or States of *Spain*, who without question would heartily concurr against such an Union by which their Country must become a Province to *France*. In like manner the *French* Princes of the Blood were severally to renounce all Title to *Spain*.

THE French raised many Difficulties upon several Particulars of this Expedient; but the Queen persisted to refuse any Plan of a Peace before this weighty Point were settled in the manner She proposed, which was afterwards submitted to, as in proper place we shall observe.

MEAN time the Negociations at *Utrecht* proceeded with a very slow pace, the *Dutch* interposing all Obstructions they could possibly contrive, refusing to come to any reasonable Temper upon the Barrier-Treaty, or to offer a Plan in concert with the Queen for a General Peace: Nothing less would satisfy them, than partaking in those Advantages We had stipulated for ourselves, and which did no way interfere with their Trade or Security. They still expected some Turn in *England*; their Friends on this side had ventured to assure them That the Queen could not live many Months, which indeed from the bad state of her Majesty's health, was reasonable enough to expect. The *British* Plenipotentiaries daily discovered new Endeavours of *Holland* to treat privatly with *France*: And lastly those among the States who desired the War should

continue, strove to gain time till the Campagne should open, and by resolving to enter into Action with the first Opportunity, render all things desperate, and break up the Congress.

THIS Scheme did exactly fall in with Prince *Eugene*'s Dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their General, and of whose Conduct in this Conjuncture the Queen had too much reason to be jealous. But Her Majesty who was resolved to do her utmost towards putting a good and speedy End to this ruinous War, having placed the Duke of *Ormonde* at the Head of her Forces in *Flanders*, where he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the Troops in *British* Pay whether Subjects or Foreigners immediatly under his own Command, and to be cautious for a while of engaging in any Action of Importance, unless upon very apparent Advantage. At the same time the Queen determined to make one thorow Tryal of the Dispositions of the States, by allowing them the utmost Concessions that could any way suit either with Her Safety or Honour. She therefore directed her Ministers at *Utrecht* to tell the *Dutch*, That in order to shew how desirous She was to live in perfect Amity with that Republick She would resign up the Fifteen *per Cent.* Advantage upon *English* Goods sent to the *Spanish* Dominions, which the *French* King had offered Her by a Power from his Grandson, and be content to reduce that Trade to the State it was in, under the late King of *Spain*: She would accept any tolerable Softening of those Words in the Seventh Article of the Barrier-Treaty, where it is said, The States shall have Power in case of an apparent Attack to put as many Troops as they please into all the Places of the *Netherlands*, without specifying an Attack from the side of *France*, as ought to have been done, otherwise the Queen might justly think they were preparing themselves for a Rupture with *Britain*. Her Majesty likewise consented that the States should keep *Nieupoort*, *Dendermond*, and the Castle of *Gand* as an Addition to their Barrier, although She were sensible how injurious those Concessions would be to the Trade of her Subjects; And would wave the Demand of *Ostend* being delivered into her Hands, which She might with justice insist on. In return of all this, That the Queen only desired

the Ministers of the States would enter into a close Correspondence with Hers, and settle between them some Plan of a General Peace, which might give reasonable Content to all her Allies, and which Her Majesty would endeavour to bring *France* to consent to. She desired the Trade of her Kingdoms to the *Netherlands* and to the Towns of their Barrier might be upon as good a foot, as it was before the War began; that the *Dutch* would not insist to have any Share in the Assiento to which they had not the least Pretensions: And that they would no longer encourage the Intrigues of a Faction against her Government. Her Majesty assured them in plain terms That her own future Measures and the Conduct of her Plenipotentiaries should be wholly governed by Their Behaviour in these Points; And that her Offers were only conditional in case of their Complyance with what She desired.

But all these Proofs of the Queen's Kindness and Sincerity would not avail: The *Dutch* Ministers pleaded they had no Power to concert the Plan of a General Peace with those of *Britain*. However they assured the latter that the Assiento was the only Difficulty which stuck with their Masters; whereupon at their Desire the Contract for that Traffick was twice read to them, after which they appeared very well satisfyed, and said they would go to the *Hague* for farther Instructions. Thither they went, and after a Week's absence returned with the same Answer, That they had no Powers to settle a Scheme of Peace, but could only discourse of it, when the Difficulties of the Barrier-Treaty were over: And Mons. *Buys* took a Journey to *Amsterdam* on purpose to stirr up that City, where he was Pensioner, against yielding the Assiento to *Britain*, but was unsuccessful in his Negociation, the Point being yielded up there and in most other Towns of *Holland*.

It will have an odd Sound in History, and appear hardly Credible That in the several petty Republicks of single Towns which make up the States General, It should be formally Debated Whether the Queen of *Great Britain*, who preserved the Commonwealth at the Charge of so many Millions, should be suffered to enjoy after a Peace the Liberty granted Her by *Spain* of selling *African* Slaves in the *Spanish* Dominions of

America. But there was a prevailing Faction at the *Hague* violently bent against any Peace where the Queen must act that Part which they had intended for themselves. These Politicians who held constant Correspondence with their old ejected Friends in *England* were daily fed with the vain Hopes of the Queen's Death, or the Party's Restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out the Time till Prince *Eugene*'s Activity had pushed on some great Event, which might govern or perplex the Conditions of Peace. Therefore the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the Instructions of those mistaken Patriots, acted in every Point with a Spirit of Litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater Advantage to the Enemy; a strict Union among all the Allies, but especially *Britain* and *Holland* being doubtless the only Means for procuring Safe and Honourable Terms from *France*.

BUT neither was this the worst: for the Queen received undoubted Intelligence from *Utrecht* that the *Dutch* were again attempting a separate Correspondence with *France*; and by Letters from *Vienna* intercepted here, it was found, that the Imperial Court (whose Ministers were in the utmost Confidence with those of *Holland*) expressed the most furious Rage against Her Majesty for the Steps She had taken to advance a Peace.

THIS unjustifyable Treatment the Queen could not digest from an Ally upon whom she had conferred so many signal Obligations, whom She had used with so much Indulgence and Sincerity during the whole Course of the Negociation, and had so often invited to go along with Her in every Motion towards a Peace. She apprehended likewise that the Negociation might be taken out of her Hands, if *France* could be secure of easier Conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Britain* wanted Power to influence the whole Confederacy: She resolved therefore on this Occasion to exert Herself with Vigour, Steadiness and Dispatch: And in the beginning of *May* sent her Commands to the Earl of *Strafford* to repair immediatly to *England* in order to consult with Her Ministers what was proper to be done.

THE Proposal abovementioned for preventing the Union

of *France* and *Spain* met with many Difficulties, Mons. *de Torcy* raising Objections against several Parts of it. But the Queen refused to proceed any farther with *France* till this weighty Point were fully settled to her Satisfaction; after which She promised to grant a Suspension of Arms, provided the Town and Citadel of *Dunkirk* might be delivered as a Pledge into Her Hands; and proposed that *Ipres* might be surrendered to the *Dutch* if they would consent to come into the Suspension. *France* absolutly refused the latter; and the States General having acted in perpetual Contradiction to Her Majesty, She pressed that matter no farther, because She doubted they would not agree to a Cessation of Arms. However She resolved to put a speedy End or at least Intermission to Her own Share in the War; And the *French* having declared themselves ready to agree to Her Expedient for preventing the Union of the Two Crowns, and consented to the Delivery of *Dunkirk*; Positive Orders were immediatly sent to the Duke of *Ormonde* to avoid engaging in any Battle or Siege till he had farther Instructions; but he was directed to conceal his Orders, and to find the best Excuses he could, if any pressing Occasion should offer.

THE Reasons for this unusual Proceeding, which made a mighty Noise, were of sufficient Weight to justify it: For, pursuant to the Agreement made between Us and *France*, a Courier was then dispatched from *Fontainbleau* to *Madrid*, with the Offer of an Alternative to *Philip*, either of resigning *Spain* immediatly to the Duke of *Savoy* upon the hopes of succeeding to *France* and some present Advantage, (which not having been accepted, it is needless to dilate on) Or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing all future Claim to *France* for Himself and his Posterity. Till it could be known which Part Philip would accept, the Queen would not take Possession of *Dunkirk*, nor suffer an Armistice to be declared. But however, since the Most Christian King had agreed that his Grandson should be forced in case of Refusal to make his Choice immediatly; Her Majesty could not endure to think that perhaps some Thousands of Lives of her own Subjects and Allies might be sacrificed without Necessity, if an Occasion should be found

or sought for fighting a Battle, which She very well knew Prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into Confusion to gratify his own Ambition, the Envy of his new Masters the *Dutch*, and the Rage of his Court.

But the Duke of *Ormonde*, who among every Quality that can accomplish or adorn a great Man, inherits all the Valour and Loyalty of his Ancestors, found it very Difficult to acquit himself of this Commission; For, Prince *Eugene* and the Field-Deputies of the States had begun already to talk either of attacking the Enemy, or besieging *Quesnoy*, the Confederate Army being now joined with all the Troops they expected. And accordingly about Three Days after the Duke had received those Orders from Court, It was proposed to His Grace at a meeting with the Prince and Deputies, that the *French* Army should be attacked, their Camp having been viewed, and a great Opportunity offering to do it with Success. For the Marêchal *Villars* who had notice sent him from Mons. *de Torcy* of what was passing, and had signifyed the same by a Trumpet to the Duke, shewed less Vigilance than was usual to that General, taking no Precautions to secure his Camp, or observe the Motions of the Allies, probably on purpose to provoke them, The Duke said, that the Earl of *Strafford*'s sudden Departure for *England* made him beleive there was something of Consequence now transacting, which would be known in Four or Five Days, and therefore desired they would deferr this or any other Undertaking till he could receive fresh Letters from *England*: Whereupon the Prince and Deputies immediatly told the Duke, that they looked for such an Answer, as he had given them, that they had suspected our Measures for some time, and their Suspicions were confirmed by the Express His Grace had so lately received, as well as by the Negligence of Mons. *Villars*. They appeared extremely dissatisfyed, and the Deputies told the Duke, they would immediatly send an Account of his Answer to their Masters, which they accordingly did; and soon after by Order of the States wrote him an expostulating Letter in a Style less respectful than became them, desiring among other things to explain himself whether He had positive Orders not to fight the

French, and afterwards told him they were sure he had such Orders, otherwise he could not answer what he had done. But the Duke still waved the Question, saying he would be glad to have Letters from *England* before he entered upon Action and that he expected them daily.

UPON this Incident the Ministers and Generals of the Allies immediatly took the Alarm, venting their Fury in very violent Expressions against the Queen, and those She employed in her Councils; said they were betrayed by *Britain*, and assumed the Countenance of those who think they have received an Injury, and were disposed to return it. The Duke of *Ormond*'s Army consisted of Eighteen Thousand of Her Majesty's Subjects and about Thirty Thousand hired from other Princes, either wholly by the Queen, or jointly by Her and the States. The Duke immediatly informed the Court of the Dispositions he found among the Foreign Generals upon this Conjuncture, and that upon any Exigency he could only depend upon the *British* Troops adhering to him, those of *Hanover* having already determined to desert to the *Dutch*, tempted the *Danes* to do the like, and that he had reason to suppose the same of the rest.

UPON the News arriving at *Utrecht* that the Duke of *Ormond* had refused to engage in any Action against the Enemy, the *Dutch* Ministers there went immediatly to make their Complaints to the Lord Privy Seal, aggravating the Strangeness of this Proceeding together with the Consequences of it in the Loss of a most favourable Opportunity for ruining the *French* Army; And the Discontent it must needs create in the whole Body of the Confederates: Adding, how hard it was they should be kept in the Dark, and have no Communication of what was done in a Point which so nearly concerned them. They concluded that the Duke must needs have acted by Orders, and desired His Lordship to write both to Court and to His Grace what they had now said.

The Bishop answered, That he knew nothing of this Fact but what they told him, and therefore was not prepared with a Reply to their Representations: Only in general he could venture to say, That this Case appeared very like the Conduct

of their Field-Deputies upon former Occasions: That, if such Orders were given, they were certainly built upon very justifiable Foundations, and would soon be so explained as to convince the States and all the World, That the Common Interest would be better provided for another Way than by a Battle, or a Siege: That, the want of Communication they complained of could not make the States so uneasy, as their declining to receive it had made the Queen, who had used her utmost Endeavours to persuade them to concurr with Her in concerting every Step towards a General Peace, and settling such a Plan as both Sides might approve and adhere to: But to this Day the States had not thought fit to accept those Offers, nor to authorize any of their Ministers to treat with Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries upon that Affair, though they had been pressed to it ever since the Negociation began: That, His Lordship, to shew he did not speak his private Sence alone, took this Opportunity to execute the Orders he had received the Evening before; by declaring to them, That all Her Majesty's Offers for adjusting the Differences between Her and the States were founded upon this express Condition, That they should come immediatly into the Queen's Measures, and act openly and sincerely with Her. And that from their Conduct so directly contrary She now looked upon Herself to be under no Obligation to them.

MONS. *Buys* and his Collegues were stunned with this Declaration made to them at a time when they pretended to think the Right of complaining to be on their side, and had come to the Bishop upon that Errand. But after their Surprize was abated, and *Buy*'s long Reasonings at an end, they began to think how Matters might be retrieved, and were of Opinion the States should immediatly dispatch a Minister to *England*, unless His Lordship were empowered to treat with them, which without new Commands He said he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the Bishop what the Meaning was of the last Words in his Declaration *That Her Majesty looked upon herself to be under no Obligation to them.* He told them his Opinion, That, as the Queen was bound by Treaty to concert with the States the Conditions of a Peace, so upon their

Declining the Concert so frequently offered, She was acquitted of that Obligation: But that he verily believed whatever Measures Her Majesty should take, She would always have a friendly Regard to the Interests of their Commonwealth; And that as their Unkindness had been very unexpected and disagreeable to Her Majesty, so their Complyance would be equally pleasing.

I HAVE been the more circumstantial in relating this Affair, because it furnished abundance of Discourse, and gave rise to many wild Conjectures and Misrepresentations as well here as in *Holland*; especially that Part which concerned the Duke of *Ormonde*; For, the angry Faction in the House of Commons upon the first Intelligence that the Duke had declined to act offensively against *France* in concurrence with the Allies, moved for an Address wherein "the Queen should "be informed of the deep Concern of Her Commons for the "dangerous Consequences to the Common Cause, which must "arise from this Proceeding of Her General; And to beseech "Her, that speedy Instructions might be given to the Duke to "prosecute the War with Vigour, in order to quiet the Minds "of her People *&c.*" But a great Majority was against this Motion, and a Resolution drawn up and presented to the Queen by the whole House, of a quite contrary Tenour: "That "they had an entire Confidence in Her Majesty's most gracious "Promise to communicate to Her Parliament the Terms of the "Peace, before the same should be concluded. And that they "would support Her Majesty in obtaining an Honourable and "Safe Peace against all such Persons either at home or abroad, "who have endeavoured or shall endeavour to obstruct the "same."

THE Courier sent with the Alternative to *Spain* was now returned with an Account, That *Philip* had chosen to renounce *France* for Himself and his Posterity: Whereof the Queen having received notice, Her Majesty upon the 6th of *June* did in a long Speech to both Houses of Parliament lay before them the Terms of a General Peace stipulated between Her and France. This Speech having been the Plan whereby both *France* and the Allies have been obliged to proceed in the

subsequent Course of the Treaty, I shall desire the Reader's Leave to insert at Length, although I believe it hath been already in most hands.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The making Peace and War is the undoubted Prerogative "of the Crown; yet such is the just Confidence I place in you, "that, at the opening of this Session, I acquainted you that a "Negotiation for a general Peace was begun; and afterwards, "by Messages, I promised to communicate to you the Terms of "Peace, before the same should be concluded.

"In pursuance of that Promise, I now come to let you know "upon what Terms a general Peace may be made.

"I need not mention the Difficulties which arise from the "very Nature of this Affair; and it is but too apparent, that these "Difficulties have been increased by other Obstructions, "artfully contrived to hinder this great and good Work.

"Nothing, however, has moved me from steadily "pursuing, in the first place, the true Interest of my own "Kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing, which might "procure to all our Allies what is due to them by Treaties, "and what is necessary for their Security.

"The assuring of the Protestant Succession, as by Law "established in the House of *Hanover*, to these Kingdoms, "being what I have nearest at Heart, particular Care is taken "not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest Terms, "but to have an additional Security, by the removal of that "Person out of the Dominions of *France*, who has pretended "to disturb this Settlement.

"The Apprehension that *Spain* and the *West-Indies* might "be united to *France* was the chief Inducement to begin this "War; and the effectual preventing of such an Union was the "Principle I laid down at the Commencement of this Treaty. "Former Examples, and the late Negotiations, sufficiently shew "how difficult it is to find means to accomplish this Work. "I would not content myself with such as are speculative, or "depend on Treaties only: I insisted on what is solid, and to "have at hand the Power of executing what should be agreed.

"I CAN therefore now tell you, that *France* at last is brought "to offer, that the Duke of *Anjou* shall, for himself and his "Descendants, renounce for ever all Claim to the Crown of "*France*; and that this important Article may be exposed to no "Hazard, the Performance is to accompany the Promise.

"AT the same Time the Succession to the Crown of *France* "is to be declared, after the Death of the present Dauphin "and his Sons, to be in the Duke of *Berry* and his Sons, in the "Duke of *Orleans* and his Sons, and so on to the rest of the "House of *Bourbon*.

"AS to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the Succession to those "Dominions, after the Duke of *Anjou* and his Children, is to "descend to such Prince as shall be agreed upon at the Treaty, "for ever excluding the rest of the House of *Bourbon*.

"FOR confirming the Renunciations and Settlements "before-mentioned, it is further offered, that they shall be "ratified in the most strong and solemn Manner, both in "*France* and *Spain*; and that those Kingdoms, as well as all the "other Powers engaged in the present War, shall be Guarantees "to the same.

"THE Nature of this Proposal is such, that it executes "itself: The Interest of *Spain* is to support it; and in *France*, the "Persons, to whom that Succession is to belong, will be ready "and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

"*France* and *Spain* are now more effectually divided than "ever. And thus, by the Blessing of God, will a real Balance "of Power be fixed in *Europe*, and remain liable to as few "Accidents as human Affairs can be exempted from.

"A TREATY of Commerce between these Kingdoms and "*France* has been entered upon, but the excessive Duties laid "on some Goods, and the Prohibitions of others, make it "impossible to finish this Work so soon as were to be desired. "Care is however taken to establish a Method of settling this "Matter; and in the mean time Provision is made, that the same "Privileges and Advantages, as shall be granted to any other "Nation by *France*, shall be granted in like Manner to us.

"THE Division of the Island of *St. Christopher*, between us "and the *French*, having been the Cause of great Inconveniency

"and Damage to my Subjects, I have demanded to have an "absolute Cession made to me of that whole Island, and *France* "agrees to this Demand.

"OUR Interest is so deeply concerned in the Trade of *North* "*America*, that I have used my utmost endeavours to adjust "that Article in the most beneficial Manner. *France* consenteth "to restore to us the whole Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, to "deliver up the Island of *Newfoundland*, with *Placentia*; and to "make an absolute Cession of *Annapolis*, with the rest of *Nova* "*Scotia*, or *Accadie*.

"THE Safety of our Home Trade will be better provided "for by the Demolition of *Dunkirk*.

"OUR *Mediterranean* Trade, and the *British* Interest and "Influence in those Parts, will be secured by the Possession of "*Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, with the whole Island of *Minorca*, "which are offered to remain in my Hands.

"THE Trade to *Spain* and the *West-Indies* may in general "be settled, as it was in the Time of the late King of *Spain*, "*Charles* the IId. and a particular Provision be made, that all "Advantages, Rights, or Privileges, which have been granted, "or which may hereafter be granted, by *Spain* to any other "Nation, shall be in like Manner granted to the Subjects of "*Great-Britain*.

"BUT the Part which we have borne in the Prosecution of "this War entitling us to some Distinction in the Terms of "Peace, I have insisted, and obtained, that the Assiento, or "Contract for furnishing the *Spanish West-Indies* with Negroes, "shall be made with us for the Term of thirty Years, in the same "Manner as it has been enjoyed by the *French* for ten Years past.

"I HAVE not taken upon me to determine the Interests of "our Confederates; these must be adjusted in the Congress at "*Utrecht*, where my best Endeavours shall be employed, as "they have hitherto constantly been, to procure to every one "of them all just and reasonable Satisfaction. In the mean Time, "I think it proper to acquaint you, that *France* offers to make "the *Rhine* the Barrier of the Empire; to yield *Brisac*, the Fort "of *Kehl*, and *Landau*, and to rase all the Fortresses, both on the "other Side of the *Rhine*, and in that River.

"As to the Protestant Interest in *Germany*, there will be on "the Part of *France* no Objection to the resettling thereof, on "the Foot of the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

"The *Spanish* Low Countries may go to his Imperial "Majesty: the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, the Dutchy "of *Milan*, and the Places belonging to *Spain* on the Coast of "*Tuscany*, may likewise be yielded by the Treaty of Peace "to the Emperor.

"As to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, though there remains no "Dispute concerning the Cession of it by the Duke of *Anjou*, "yet the Disposition thereof is not yet determined.

"The Interests of the States-General, with Respect to "Commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by "their own Ministers, with the Exception only of some very "few Species of Merchandize; and the entire Barrier, as deman- "ded by the States in One thousand seven hundred and nine, "from *France*, except two or three Places at most.

"As to these Exceptions, several Expedients are proposed; "and I make no doubt but this Barrier may be so settled, "as to render that Republic perfectly secure against any "Enterprize on the Part of *France*; which is the Foundation of "all my Engagements upon this Head with the States.

"The Demands of *Portugal* depending on the Disposition "of *Spain*, and that Article having been long in Dispute, it "has not been yet possible to make any considerable Progress "therein; but my Plenipotentiaries will now have an Oppor- "tunity to assist that King in his Pretensions.

"Those of the King of *Prussia* are such as, I hope, will "admit of little Difficulty on the Part of *France*; and my "utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am "able to so good an Ally.

"The Difference between the Barrier demanded for the "Duke of *Savoy*, in One thousand seven hundred and nine, "and the Offers now made by *France*, is very inconsiderable: "but, that Prince having so signally distinguished himself in "the Service of the common Cause, I am endeavouring to "procure for him still further Advantages.

"*France* has consented, that the Elector *Palatine* shall con-

"tinue his present Rank among the Electors, and remain in "Possession of the upper *Palatinate*.

"THE electoral Dignity is likewise acknowledged in the "House of *Hanover*, according to the Article inserted at that "Prince's Desire in my Demands.

"AND as to the rest of the Allies, I make no doubt of being "able to secure their several Interests.

"MY Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE now communicated to you, not only the Terms of "Peace, which may, by the future Treaty, be obtained for my "own Subjects; but likewise the Proposals of *France*, for "satisfying our Allies.

"THE former are such as I have Reason to expect, to make "my People some Amends for that great and unequal Burden "which they have lain under, through the whole Course of "this War; and I am willing to hope, that none of our Con-"federates, and especially those to whom so great Accessions "of Dominion and Power are to accrue by this Peace, will envy "*Great-Britain* her Share in the Glory and Advantage of it.

"THE latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted, as a little more "Time might have rendered them; but the Season of the Year "making it necessary to put an End to this Session, I resolved "no longer to defer communicating these matters to you.

"I CAN make no doubt but you are all fully persuaded, that "nothing will be neglected on my Part, in the Progress of this "Negotiation, to bring the Peace to an happy and speedy "Issue; and I depend on your entire Confidence in me, and your "chearful Concurrence with me."

THE discontented Party in the House of Commons finding the Torrent against them not to be stemmed, suspended their Opposition, by which means an Address was Voted *nemine contradicente*, to acknowlege Her Majesty's Condescension; to express their Satisfaction in what She had already done, And to desire She would please to proceed with the present Negociations for the obtaining a Speedy Peace.

DURING these Transactions at home, the Duke of *Ormond* was in a very uneasie Situation at the Army; employed in

practising those Arts, which perhaps are fitter for a Subtile Negotiator than a Great Commander. But as He had always proved his Obedience where Courage or Conduct could be of Use: So the Duty he professed to his Prince made him submit to continue in a State of Inactivity at the Head of his Troops, however contrary to his Nature, if it were for Her Majesty's Service. He had sent early Notice to the Ministers, that He could not depend upon the Foreign Forces in the Queen's Pay; And he now found that some Attempts were already begun to seduce them. While the Courier was expected from *Madrid*, the Duke had Orders to inform the Marêchal *de Villars* of the true State of this Affair, that His Grace would have decisive Orders in Three or Four Days: In the mean time He desired the Marêchal would not oblige him to come to any Action, either to defend Himself, or to joyn with Prince *Eugene*'s Army which the Duke must necessarily do, if the Prince were attacked.

WHEN the Courier was arrived with the Account that *Philip* had chosen to accept of *Spain*, Her Majesty proposed to *France* a Suspension of Arms for Two Months (to be prolonged to Three or Four) between the Armies now in *Flanders* upon the following Conditions:

THAT, during the Suspension, Endeavours should be used for concluding a General Peace; Or at least, the Article for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*, should be punctually executed, By *Philip*'s renouncing *France* for Himself and his Posterity, and the Princes of *Bourbon* in like manner renouncing *Spain*: And that the Town, Citadel and Forts of *Dunkirk* should be delivered immediatly into the Queen's hands. Her Majesty endeavoured at the same time to get *Cambray* for the *Dutch*, provided they would come into the Suspension; but this was absolutly rejected by *France*, which that Court would never have ventured to do, if those Allies could have been prevailed on to act with Sincerity and Openness in concert with Her Majesty, as Her Plenipotentiaries had always desired. However the Queen promised, that if the States would yield to a Suspension of Arms, they should have some valuable Pledge put into their Possession.

But now fresh Intelligence daily arrived both from *Utrecht* and the Army, of Attempts to make the Troops in Her Majesty's Pay desert Her Service; And the Design of seizing even the *British* Forces was whispered about, and with reason suspected. When the Queen's Speech was published in *Holland*, the Lord Privy Seal told the *Dutch* Ministers at *Utrecht*, That what Her Majesty had laid before Her Parliament could not according to the Rules of Treating be looked on as the Utmost of what *France* would yield in the Course of a Negociation, but only the Utmost of what that Crown would propose in order to form the Plan of a Peace: That these Conditions would certainly have been better, if the States had thought fit to have gone hand in hand with Her Majesty, as She had so frequently exhorted them to do; That, nothing but the Want of Harmony among the Allies had spirited the *French* to stand out so long: That the Queen would do them all the good Offices in her Power if they thought fit to comply, and did not doubt of getting them reasonable Satisfaction both in relation to their Barrier and their Trade. But this Reasoning made no Impression; the *Dutch* Ministers said, The Queen's Speech had deprived them of the Fruits of the War; they were in pain lest *Lisle* and *Tournay* might be Two of the Towns to be excepted out of their Barrier. The rest of the Allies grew Angry by the example of the *Dutch*: The Populace in *Holland* began to be inflamed; they publickly talked, That *Britain* had betrayed them. Sermons were preached in several Towns of their Provinces, whether by Direction or Connivance, filled with the highest Instances of Disrespect to Her *British* Majesty, whom they charged as a Papist and an Enemy to their Country. The Lord Privy Seal himself beleived Something extraordinary was in agitation; And that his own Person was in danger from the Fury of the Rabble.

It is certain, That the States appeared but a few days before very much disposed to comply with the Measures the Queen had taken, and would have consented to a General Armistice, if Count *Zinzendorf*, One of the Plenipotentiaries for the Emperour, had not by direct Orders from his Court employed himself in sowing Jealousies between *Britain* and

the States, and at the same time made prodigious Offers to the latter as well as to the Ministers of *Prussia*, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing the War. That those Three Electours, who contributed nothing except Bodies of Men in return of Pay and Subsidies should readily accept the Proposals of the Emperour is Easy to be accounted for: What appears hardly Credible is that a grave Republick, usually cautious enough in making their Bargains, should venture to reject the Thoughts of a Peace upon the Promises of the House of *Austria*, the little Validity whereof they had so long experienced, and especially when they counted upon losing the Support of *Britain* their most powerful Ally. But the false Hopes given them by their Friends in *England* of some new Change in their favour, or an Imagination of bringing *France* to better Terms by the Appearance of Resolution, added to the Weakness or Corruption of some who administered their Affairs were the true Causes, which first created and afterwards enflamed this untractable Temper among them.

THE *Dutch* Ministers were wholly disconcerted and surprized, when the Lord Privy Seal told them, That a Suspension of Arms in the *Netherlands* would be necessary; And that the Duke of *Ormonde* intended very soon to declare it, after he had taken possession of *Dunkirk*: But His Lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this Incident ought to be rather a Motive for hastening the States into a Complyance with Her Majesty. He likewise communicated in form to the Ministers of the Allies the Offers made by *France* as delivered in the Speech from the Throne, which Her Majesty thought to be Satisfactory, and hoped their Masters would concurr with Her in bringing the Peace to a speedy Conclusion, wherein Each in particular might be assured of Her best Offices for advancing their just Pretensions.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Ormonde* was directed to send a Body of Troops to take possession of *Dunkirk* as soon as he should have notice from the Marêchal *de Villars*, That the Commandant of the Town had received Orders from his Court to deliver it. But the Duke foresaw many Difficulties in executing this Commission; He could trust such an Enter-

prize to no Forces except those of Her Majesty's own Subjects; He considered the Temper of the States in this Conjuncture, and was loth to divide a small Body of Men upon whose Faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expose them to march through the Enemy's Country with whom there was yet neither Peace nor Truce; And he had sufficient Reasons to apprehend that the *Dutch* would either not permitt such a Detachment to pass through their Towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed. Besides, the Duke had very freely signifyed to Mons. *de Villars* That he expected to be deserted by all the Foreign Troops in Her Majesty's Pay, as soon as the Armistice should be declared; At which the Marêchal appeared extremely disappointed; Said, the King his Master reckoned, that all the Troops under His Grace's Command should yield to the Cessation; And wondred how it should come to pass, that those who might be paid for lying still would rather chuse after a Ten Years War to enter into the Service of New Masters under whom they must fight on for Nothing. In short, the Opinion of Mons. *Villars* was, That this Difficulty cancelled the Promise of surrendring *Dunkirk*; which he therefore opposed as much as possible in the Letters he writt to his Court.

UPON the Duke of *Ormond*'s representing these Difficulties, the Queen altered her Measure, and ordered Forces to be sent from *England* to take possession of *Dunkirk*; The Duke was likewise commanded to tell the Foreign Generals in Her Majesty's Service how highly she would resent their Desertion, after which their Masters must give up all thoughts of any Arrears either of Pay or Subsidy. The Lord Privy Seal spoke the same Language at *Utrecht* to the several Ministers of the Allies; as Mr. Secretary *St. John* did to those who resided here; adding, that the Proceeding of the Foreign Troops would be looked upon as a Declaration for or against her Majesty; And that in case they desert Her Service, She would look on Herself as justifyed before God and Man to continue her Negociations at *Utrecht* or any other Place, whether the Allies concurr or no; And particularly the *Dutch* were assured, that

if their Masters seduced the Forces hired by the Queen, they must take the whole Pay, Arrears and Subsidies upon themselves.

THE Earl of *Strafford* preparing about this time to return to *Utrecht* with Instructions proper for the present Situation of Affairs, went first to the Army; and there informed the Duke of *Ormond* of Her Majesty's Intentions. He also acquainted the States Deputies with the Queen's Uneasiness, lest by the Measures they were taking they should drive her to Extremities which She desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them in the plainest Terms the Provocations Her Majesty had received, and the Grounds and Reasons of her present Conduct. He likewise declared to the Commanders in chief of the Foreign Troops in the Queen's Pay, and in the joint Pay of *Britain* and the States, with how much Surprize Her Majesty had heard that there was the least Doubt of their obeying the Orders of the Duke of *Ormonde*:—which if they refused, Her Majesty would esteem it not only as an Indignity and Affront, but as a Declaration against Her; And that in such a Case they must look on themselves as no farther entitled either to any Arrears, or future Pay, or Subsidies.

SIX Regiments under the Command of Mr. *Hill* were now preparing to embark at . . . in order to take possession of *Dunkirk*; And the Duke of *Ormond* upon the first Intelligence sent him that the *French* were ready to deliver the Town, was to declare He could act no longer against *France*. The Queen immediatly gave notice of her Proceedings to the States; She let them plainly know, That their perpetual Caballing with her Factious Subjects against Her Authority, had forced her into such Measures, as otherwise She would not have engaged in: However, Her Majesty was yet willing to forget all that was past, and to unite with them in the strictest Ties of Amity, which She hoped they would now do, since they could not but be convinced by the late Dutiful Addresses of both Houses, how far their High-Mightinesses had been deluded, and drawn in as Instruments to serve the Turn, and gratify the Passions of a disaffected Party; That their Opposition, and want of Concert with Her Majesty's Ministers which She had so often

invited them to, had encouraged *France* to except Towns out of their Barrier, which otherwise might have been yielded; That however, She had not precluded them or any other Ally from demanding more; And even Her own Terms were but Conditional upon supposition of a generall Peace to ensue; That Her Majesty resolved to act upon the Plan laid down in her Speech; And She repeated the Promise of her best Offices to promote the Interests of the States, if they would deal sincerely with Her.

SOME Days, before the Duke of *Ormond* had notice that Orders were given for the Surrendry of *Dunkirk*, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* sent for the Generals of the Allies, and asked them severally, Whether in case the Armies separated, They would march with Him, or stay with the Duke. All of them except Two (who commanded but small Bodies) agreed to joyn with the Prince; who thereupon about three Days after sent the Duke word that he intended to march the following Day (as it was supposed to besiege *Landrecy*) The Duke returned in answer That He was surprized at the Prince's Message, there having not been the least previous Concert with him, nor any mention in the Message which Way or upon what Design the March was intended; therefore that the Duke could not resolve to march with him, much less could the Prince expect Assistance from the Queen's Army, in any Design undertaken after this manner. The Duke told him this beforehand, that he (the Prince) might take his Measures accordingly, and not attribute to Her Majesty's General any Misfortune that might happen.

ON the Sixteenth of *July* N. S. the several Generals of the Allies joined Prince *Eugene*'s Army, and began their March, after taking Leave of the Duke and the Earl of *Strafford*, whose Expostulations could not prevail on them to stay, although the latter assured them that the Queen had made neither Peace nor Truce with *France*, and that Her Forces would now be left exposed to the Enemy.

THE next Day after this famous Desertion, the Duke of *Ormonde* received a Letter from Mons. *de Villars* with an Account That the Town and Citadel of *Dunkirk* should be

delivered to Mr. *Hill*: Whereupon, a Cessation of Arms was declared by Sound of Trumpet at the Head of the *British* Army, which now consisted only of about Eighteen Thousand Men, all of Her Majesty's Subjects except the *Holsteiners*, and Count *Wales*'s Dragoons. With this small Body of Men the General began his March, and pursuant to Orders from Court retired towards the Sea, in the manner he thought most convenient for the Queen's Service. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by some of his Officers, that the Commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Lisle* and *Tournay* had refused them Passage through those Towns, or even Liberty of Entrance; and said it was by Order of their Masters. The Duke immediatly recollected, that when the Deputies first heard of his Resolution to withdraw his Troops, they told him They hoped He did not intend to march through any of their Towns: This made him conclude that the Orders must be general, and that his Army would certainly meet with the same Treatment, which his Officers had done: He had likewise, before the Armies separated, received Information of some Designs that concerned the Safety or at least the Freedom of his own Person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few brave *British* Troops entrusted to his Care. No General was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his Soldiers; who to a man were prepared to sacrifice their Lives in his Service, and whose Resentments were raised to the utmost by the Ingratitude, as they termed it, of their Deserters. Upon these Provocations He laid aside all thoughts of retiring to *Dunkirk*; and began to consider how he might perform in so difficult a Conjuncture some important Service to the Queen, and at the same time find a secure Retreat for his Forces. He formed his Plan without communicating it to any Person whatsoever; And the Disposition of the Army being to march towards *Warneton* in the way to *Dunkirk*, he gave sudden Orders to Lieutenant General *Cadogan* to change his Route (according to the military Phrase) and move towards *Orchies*, a Town leading directly to *Gand*. When Prince *Eugene* and the States Deputies received News of the Duke's Motion, they were alarmed to the utmost degree, and sent Count *Nassau* of *Wordenbourg* to the General's Camp near *Orchies*,

to excuse what had been done, and to assure His Grace, that those Commandants who refused Passage to his Officers, had acted wholly without Orders. Count *Hompesch* one of the *Dutch* Generals came likewise to the Duke with the same Story. But all this made little Impression on the General, who held on his March, and on the 23d. of *July* N. S. entered *Gand*, where He was received with great Submission by the Inhabitants, and took possession of the Town, as he likewise did a few Days after of *Bruges*.

THE Duke of *Ormond* thought, that considering the present Disposition of the States towards *Britain*, it might be necessary for the Queen to have some Pledge from that Republick in her Hands, as well as from *France*; by which means Her Majesty would be empowered to act the Part that best became Her, of being Mediator at least, if not Arbiter of the Peace. He knew very well, that while *Gand* was in the Queen's hands, no Provisions could pass the *Scheld* or the *Lis* without her Permission, by which He had it in his Power to starve their Army. The Possession of these Towns might likewise teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialists* to preserve a Degree of Decency and Civility towards Her Majesty, which Both of them were upon some Occasions too apt to forget. And besides there was already in the Town of *Gand* a Battalion of *British* Troops, and a Detachment of 500 Men in the Citadel, together with a great Quantity of Ammunition Stores for the Service of the War, which would certainly have been seized or embezeled: So that no Service could be more seasonable or useful in the present Juncture than this; which the Queen highly approved, and left the Duke a discretionary Power to act as he thought fit upon any future Emergency.

I HAVE a little intercepted the Order of Time in relating the Duke of *Ormond*'s Proceedings, who after having placed a Garrison at *Bruges*, and sent a Supply of Men and Ammunition to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Gand*, where he continued some Months till He had leave to return to *England*.

UPON the Arrival of Collonel *Disney* to Court with an Account that Mr. *Hill* had taken possession of *Dunkirk*, an universal Joy spread over the Kingdom, this Event being

looked on as the certain Forerunner of a Peace. Besides, the *French* Faith was in so ill a Reputation among us, that many Persons, other wise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to beleive that the Town would be delivered, till certain Intelligence came that it was actually in our Hands. Neither were the Ministers themselves altogether at ease or free from Suspicion, what ever Countenance they made: For they knew very well that the *French* King had many plausible Reasons to elude his Promise if he found Cause to repent it; One Condition of surrendring *Dunkirk* being a General Armistice of all the Troops in the *British* Pay, which Her Majesty was not able to perform; And upon this Failure, The Marêchal *de Villars* (as we have before related) endeavoured to dissuade his Court from accepting the Conditions. And in the very Interval while these Difficulties were adjusting, the Marêchal *d'Huxelles* one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, (whose Inclinations as well as those of his Collegue Mons. *Mesnager* led him to favour the States more than *Britain*) assured the Lord Privy Seal that the *Dutch* were then pressing to enter into separate Measures with his Master. And His Lordship in a Visit to the Abbé *de Polignac* observing a Person to withdraw, as he entred the Abbot's Chamber, was told by this Minister, that the Person He saw was one *Moleau* of *Amsterdam* (mentioned before) a famous Agent for the States with *France*, who had been entertaining Him (the Abbot) upon the same Subject, but that he had refused to treat with *Moleau* without the Privity of *England*.

Mr. *Harley*, whom we mentioned above, to have been sent early in the Spring to *Utrecht*, continued longer in *Holland* than was at first expected; but having received Her Majesty's farther Instructions, was about this time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the Misfortune of His Electoral Highness to be very ill served by Mons. *Bothmar* his Envoy here; who assisted at all the Factious Meetings of the discontented Party, and deceived his Master by a false Representation of the Kingdom, drawn from the Opinions of those to whom he confined his Conversation. There was likewise at the Elector's Court a little *Frenchman* without any Merit or Consequence called

Robithon, who by the assistance and encouragement of the last Ministry had insinuated himself into some degree of that Prince's Favour, which he used in giving his Master the worst Impressions he was able of those whom the Queen employed in her Service; insinuating, that the present Ministers were not in the Interests of His Highness's Family; that their Views were towards the Pretender, that they were making an Unsecure and Dishonourable Peace; that the Weight of the Nation was against them, and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their Credit or Power.

THE Earl *Rivers* had in the foregoing Year been sent to *Hanover* in order to undeceive the Elector, and remove whatever Prejudices might be infused into His Highness against Her Majesty's Proceedings. But it should seem, that he had no very great Success in his Negociation: For, soon after his return to *England*, Mons. *Bothmar*'s Memorial appeared in the manner I have already related, which discovered the Sentiments of His Electoral Highness if they were truly represented in that Memorial, to differ not a little from those of the Queen. Mr. *Harley* was therefore directed to take the first Opportunity of speaking to the Elector in private; To assure him, that although Her Majesty had thought herself justly provoked by the Conduct of his Minister, yet such was Her Affection to His Highness, and Concern for the Interests of His Family, that instead of shewing the least Mark of Resentment, She had chosen to send Him (Mr. *Harley*) fully instructed to open her Designs, and shew His Highness the real Interest of *Britain* in the present Conjuncture. Mr. *Harley* was to give the Elector a true Account of what had passed in *England* during the first Part of this Session of Parliament: to expose to His Highness the Weakness of those with whom His Minister had consulted, and under whose Directions he had acted; to convince Him how much lower that Faction must yet become when a Peace should be concluded, and when the natural Strength of the Kingdom disencumbered from the Burthen of the War should be at Liberty to exert itself; to shew Him how his Interest in the Succession was sacrificed to that of a Party; That His Highness had hitherto been the Friend of both

Sides, but that the Measures taken by his Minister had tended only to sett Him at the Head of One in opposition to the Other; to explain to the Elector how fully the Safety of *Europe* was provided for by the Plan of Peace in Her Majesty's Speech; and how little reason those Powers would appear to have, who complained the loudest of this Plan, if it were compared either with our Engagements to them when we began the War, or with their Performances in the Course of it.

UPON this Occasion Mr. *Harley* was to observe to the Elector, that it should rather be wondred how the Queen had brought *France* to offer so much, than yet to offer no more; because, as soon as ever it appeared that Her Majesty would be at the Head of this Treaty, and that the Interests of *Britain* were to be provided for, such Endeavours were used to break off the Negociation, as are hardly to be paralel'd; And the Disunion thereby created among the Allies, had given more Opportunities to the Enemy of being slow in their Concessions than any other Measures could possibly have done. That, this want of Concert among the Allies could not in any sort be imputed to the Queen who had all along invited them to it with the greatest Earnestness as the surest Means to bring *France* to Reason. That She had always in a particular manner pressed the States General to come into the strictest Union with Her, and opened to them her Intentions with the greatest Freedom; but finding that instead of concurring with Her Majesty they were daily carrying on Intrigues to break off the Negociation, and thereby deprive Her of the Advantages She might justly expect from the ensuing Peace; having no other way left, She was forced to act with *France* as she did by Herself. That however, the Queen had not taken upon her to determine the Interests of the Allies, who were at liberty of insisting on farther Pretensions, wherein Her Majesty would not be wanting to support them as far as She was able; And improve the Concessions already made by *France*; in which Case a good Understanding and Harmony among the Confederates would yet be of the greatest Use for making the Enemy more tractable and easie.

I HAVE been the more Particular in reciting the Substance

of Mr. *Harley*'s Instructions, because it will serve as a Recapitulation of what I have already said upon this Subject, and seems to set Her Majesty's Intentions and Proceedings at this time in the clearest Light.

AFTER the Cessation of Arms declared by the Duke of *Ormonde* upon the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, the *British* Plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of *Holland* to come into a General Armistice. For, if the whole Confederacy acted in Conjunction, this would be certainly the best Means for bringing the Common Enemy to reasonable Terms of a Peace. But the States, deluded by the boundless Promises of Count *Zinzendorf*, and the undertaking Talent of Prince *Eugene* who dreaded the Conclusion of the War as the Period of his Glory, would not hear of a Cessation. The Loss of Eighteen Thousand *Britons* was not a Diminution of weight in the Balance against such an Ally as the Emperour, and such a General as the Prince: Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still Superior to *France* in the Field. And although their Computation was certainly right in point of Number; yet in my Opinion the Conclusion drawn from it was grounded upon a great Mistake. I have been assured by several Persons of our own Country, and some Foreigners of the first Rank both for Skill and Station in Arms, That in most Victories obtained in the present War, The *British* Troops were ever employed in the Post of Danger and Honour; and usually began the Attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the People of any other Country) by which they were not only an Example of Courage to the rest, but must be acknowleged without Partiality to have governed the Fortune of the Day; since it is known enough how small a Part of an Army is generally engaged in any Battle. It may likewise be added that nothing is of greater Moment in War, than Opinion: The *French* by their frequent Losses which they chiefly attributed to the Courage of our Men, believed that a British General at the Head of British Troops was not to be Overcome. And the Marêchal *de Villars* was quickly sensible of the Advantage he had got: For in a very few Days, after the Desertion of the Allies, happened the Earl of *Albemarle*'s

Disgrace at *Denain*, by a Feint of the Marêchal's and a manifest Failure somewhere or other both of Courage and Conduct on the side of the Confederates, the Blame of which was equally shared between Prince *Eugene* and the Earl: although it is certain, that the Duke of *Ormonde* gave the latter timely warning of his Danger, observing he was neither entrenched as he ought, nor provided with Bridges sufficient for the Situation he was in, and at such a Distance from the main Army.

THE Marquis *de Torcy* had likewise the same Sentiments of what mighty Consequence those few *British* Battalions were to the Confederate Army, since He advised his Master to deliver up *Dunkirk* although the Queen could not perform the Condition understood, which was, a Cessation of Arms of all the Foreign Forces in Her Pay.

IT must be owned, that Mons. *de Torcy* made great Merit of this Confidence His Master placed in the Queen; And observing Her Majesty's Displeasure against the *Dutch* on account of their late Proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with Aggravations enough; insinuating that since the States had acted so ungratefully, the Queen should let her Forces join with those of *France* in order to compel the Confederates to a Peace. But although this Overture were very tenderly hinted from the *French* Court, Her Majesty heard it with the utmost Abhorrence; and ordered Her Secretary Mr. *St. John* (created about this time Viscount *Bolingbroke*) to tell Mons. *Torcy*, that no Provocations whatsoever should tempt Her to distress her Allies; but She would endeavour to bring them to Reason by fair means, or leave them to their own Conduct: That if the former should be found impracticable, She would then make her own Peace, and content Herself with doing the Office of a Mediator between both Parties. But if the States should come at any time to a better Mind, and suffer their Ministers to act in conjunction with Hers, She would assert their just Interests to the utmost, and make no farther Progress in any Treaty with *France* till those Allies received all reasonable Satisfaction both as to their Barrier and their Trade. The *British* Plenipotentiaries were directed to give the same

Assurances to the *Dutch* Ministers at *Utrecht*, and withall to let them know, that the Queen was determined by their late Conduct to make Peace either with or without them, but would much rather chuse the former.

THERE was however One Advantage which Her Majesty resolved to make by this Defection of Her Foreigners. She had been led by the mistaken Politicks of some Years past to involve Herself in several Guarantees with the Princes of the North, which were in some sort contradictory to each other: But this Conduct of theirs wholly annulled all such Engagements, and left her at liberty to interpose in the Affairs of those Parts of *Europe* in such a manner as would best serve the Interest of her own Kingdoms, as well as that of the Protestant Religion; and settle a due Balance of Power in the North.

THE Grand Article for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain* was to be executed during a Cessation of Arms: But many Difficulties arising about that and some other Points of great Importance to the Common Cause, which could not easily be adjusted either between the *French* and *British* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, or by Correspondence between Mons. *de Torcy* and the Ministry here; The Queen took the Resolution of sending the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* immediatly to *France*, fully instructed in all Her Intentions, and authorized to negociate every thing necessary for setting the Treaty of Peace in such a Course as might bring it to a happy and speedy Conclusion. He was empowered to agree to a General Suspension of Arms by Sea and Land between *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, to continue for Four Months or till the Conclusion of the Peace Provided *France* and *Spain* would previously give positive Assurances to make good the Terms demanded by Her Majesty for the Duke of *Savoy*; and would likewise adjust and determine the Forms of the several Renunciations to be made by both those Crowns in order to prevent their being ever united. The Lord *Bolingbroke* was likewise authorized to settle some Differences relating to the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose Interests *France* was as much concerned as Her Majesty was for those of the Duke of *Savoy*; To explain all doubtful Articles, which particu-

larly related to the Advantages of *Britain*; To know the real Ultimatum (as it is termed) of *France* upon the general Plan of Peace; And lastly to cut off all Hopes from that Court of ever bringing the Queen to force her Allies to a disadvantageous Peace, Her Majesty resolving to impose no Scheme at all upon Them, or to debarr them from the Liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best Conditions they could.

THE Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France* in the beginning of *August*; was received at Court with particular Marks of Distinction and Respect, and in a very few Days by his usual Address and Ability performed every Part of his Commission extremely to the Queen's Content and his own Honour. He returned to *England* before the End of the Month; but Mr. *Prior* who went along with him was left behind to adjust whatever Differences might remain or arise between the Two Crowns.

IN the mean time the general Conferences at *Utrecht*, which for several Weeks had been let fall since the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now resumed: But the *Dutch* still declaring against a Suspension of Arms, and refusing to accept the Queen's Speech as a Plan to negociate upon, there was no Progress made for some time in the great Work of the Peace. Whereupon the *British* Plenipotentiaries told those of the States, that if the Queen's Endeavours could not procure more than the Contents of her Speech, or if the *French* should even fall short of what was there offered, the *Dutch* could blame none but themselves; who by their Conduct had rendred Things difficult that would otherwise have been easie. However, Her Majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in hopes of her good Offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate Course of leaving themselves wholly at the Mercy of *France*, which was an Expedient they had formerly practised, and which a Party among them was now inclined to advise.

WHILST the Congress at *Utrecht* remained in this unactive State, the Queen proceeded to perfect that important Article for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*. It was proposed and accepted, that *Philip* should renounce *France* for Himself

and his Posterity; And that the Most Christian King and all the Princes of his Blood should in the like manner renounce *Spain*. It must be confessed that this Project of Renunciation lay under a great Disrepute by the former Practices of this very King *Lewis* the Fourteenth, pursuant to an absurd Notion among many in that Kingdom, of a Divine Right annexed to the Proximity of Blood, not to be controuled by any humane Law: But it is plain that the *French* themselves had recourse to this Method after all their Infractions of it since the *Pyrenean* Treaty. For the first Dauphin, in whom the Original Claim was vested, renounced for Himself and his Eldest Son; which opened the way to *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*, who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the Will made in his favour by the last King of *Spain*, *Charles* the Second.

It is indeed hard to reflect with any patience upon the unaccountable Stupidity of the Princes of *Europe* for some Centuries past, who left a Probability to *France* of succeeding in a few Ages to all their Dominions; whilst at the same time no Alliance with that Kingdom could be of advantage to any Prince, by reason of the Salique Law. Should not Common Prudence have taught every Sovereign in *Christendom* to enact a Salique Law with respect to *France*, for want of which it is almost a Miracle that the *Bourbon* Family hath not possessed the universal Monarchy by right of Inheritance? When the *French* assert, that Proximity of Blood gives a Divine Right, as some of their Ministers who ought to be more Wise or Honest, have lately advanced in this very Case of the Dauphin's Title to *Spain*, do they not by allowing a *French* Succession make their own Kings Usurpers? Or if the Salique Law be Divine, is it not of universal Obligation and consequently of Force to exclude *France* from inheriting by Daughters? Or lastly, if that Law be of humane Institution, may it not be enacted in any State with whatever Extent or Limitation the Legislature shall think fit? For the Notion of an unchangeable Human Law is an Absurdity in Government, to be believed only by Ignorance, and supported by Power. From hence it follows, that the Children of the late Queen of *France* although She had not renounced, were as legally

excluded from succeeding to *Spain*, as if the Salique Law had been Fundamental in that Kingdom, since that Exclusion was established by every Power in *Spain*, which could possibly give a Sanction to any Law there. And therefore the Duke of *Anjou*'s Title is wholly founded upon the Bequest of his Predecessor (which hath great Authority in that Monarchy as it formerly had in ours) upon the Confirmation of the *Cortes*, and the general Consent of the People.

It is certain, The Faith of Princes is so frequently subservient to their Ambition, that Renunciations have little Validity otherwise than from the Powers and Parties whose Interest it is to support them. But this Renunciation which the Queen hath exacted from the *French* King and his Grandson, I take to be armed with all the Essential Circumstances that can fortify such an Act: For as it is necessary to the Security of every Prince in *Europe*, that those Two great Kingdoms should never be united, so the Chief among them will readily consent to be Guarantees for preventing so great a Misfortune. Besides, this Proposal (according to Her Majesty's Expression in her Speech) is of such a nature that it executes itself; because the *Spaniards*, who dread such an Union for every Reason that can have weight among men; took care that their King should not only renounce in the most solemn manner but likewise that the Act should be framed in the strongest Terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to *France*: upon supposal of the young Dauphin's dying in few years, that Kingdom will not be in a Condition to engage in a long War against a powerful Alliance fortifyed with the addition of the *Spaniards*, and the Party of the Duke of *Berry*, or whoever else shall be next Claimer: And the longer the present Dauphin lives, the weaker must *Philip*'s Influence be in *France*, because the Princes who are to succeed by vertue of this Renunciation will have most Power and Credit in the Kingdom.

The Mischiefs occasioned by the want of a good Understanding between the Allies, especially *Britain* and *Holland*, encreased every Day; the *French* taking the advantage, and raising Difficulties not only upon the general Plan of Peace,

but likewise upon the Explanation of several Articles in the projected Treaty between them and Her Majesty. They insisted to have *Lisle* as the Equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge* and *Condé* for the Two or Three Towns mentioned in the Queen's Speech; which the *British* Plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to conferr with those of *France* upon that foot; although at the same time the former had fresh Apprehensions that the *Dutch* in a Fit of Despair would accept whatever Terms the Enemy pleased to offer, and by precipitating their own Peace, prevent Her Majesty from obtaining many Advantages both for her Allies and Herself.

It is most certain that the repeated Losses suffered by the States in little more than Two Months after they had withdrawn themselves from the Queen's assistance, did wholly disconcert their Councils; And their Prudence, as it is usual, began to forsake them with their good Fortune. They were so weak to be still deluded by their Friends in *England*, who continued to give them Hopes of some mighty and immediate Ressource from hence. For when the Duke of *Ormond* had been about a Month in *Gand*, he received a Letter from the Marêchal *de Villars* to inform him, that the *Dutch* Generals taken at *Denain* had told the Marêchal publickly of a sudden Revolution expected in *Britain*; that particularly the Earl of *Albemarle* and Mons. *Hompesch* discoursed very freely of it; and that nothing was more commonly talked of, or beleived in Holland. It was then likewise confidently reported in *Gand*, that the Queen was dead; And we all remember what a Rumour flew about here at the very same time, as if Her Majesty's Health was in a desperate Condition. Whether such vain Hopes as this gave Spirit to the *Dutch*, or whether their frequent Misfortunes made them angry and sullen; or lastly whether they still expected to overreach Us by some private Stipulations with *France* through the Mediation of the Elector of *Bavaria*, as that Prince afterwards gave out; Whatever was the Cause, they utterly rejected a Cessation of Arms, nor shewed the least Return to all the Advances and Invitations made by Her Majesty till the Close of the Campagne. It was then the

States first began to view their Affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast Promises of Count *Zinzendorf* were to be relyed on; to be convinced that *France* was not disposed to break with Her Majesty only to gratify their ill Humour, or unreasonable Demands; to discover that their factious Correspondents on this side the Water, had shamefully misled them; that some of their own principal Towns grew heartily weary of the War, and backward in their Loans; and lastly that Prince *Eugene* their new General, whether his Genius or Fortune had left him, was not for their Turn. They directed therefore their Ministers at *Utrecht* to signify to the Lord Privy Seal and the Earl of *Strafford*, that the States were disposed to comply with Her Majesty, and to desire her good Offices with *France*; particularly That *Tournay* and *Condé* might be left to them as Part of their Barrier, without which they could not be Safe; That the Elector of *Bavaria* might not be suffered to retain any Town in the *Netherlands*; which would be as bad for *Holland*, as if those Places were in the Hands of *France*: therefore the States proposed that *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, and *Nieupoort* might be delivered to the Emperour; Lastly, That the *French* might not insist on excepting the Four Species of Goods out of the Tariff of 1664: That if Her Majesty could prevail with *France* to satisfy their Masters on these Articles, they would be ready to submitt in all the rest.

WHEN the Queen received an Account of this good Disposition in the States General, immediatly Orders were sent to Mr. *Prior* to inform the Ministers at the *French* Court, that Her Majesty had now some hopes of the *Dutch* complying with her Measures; and therefore She resolved, as She had always declared, whenever those Allies came to themselves, not to make the Peace without their reasonable Satisfaction. The Difficulty that most pressed was about the Disposal of *Tournay* and *Condé*; the *Dutch* insisted strongly to have Both, and the *French* were extremely unwilling to part with either. The Queen judged the former would suffice for compleating the Barrier of the States; Mr. *Prior* was therefore directed to press the Marquis *de Torcy* effectually on this Head, and to terminate all that Minister's Objections by assuring him of Her Majesty's

Resolution to appear openly on the side of the *Dutch*, if this Demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner with *France*, whose late Success against *Holland* had taught the Ministers of the Most Christian King to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that Republick, to which they were farther encouraged by the Ill Understanding between Her Majesty and the Allies. This appeared from the Result of an idle Quarrel that happened about the end of *August* at *Utrecht*, between a *French* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiary, Mons. *Mesnager*, and Count *Rechteren*; wherein the Court of *France* demanded such abject Submissions, and with so much haughtiness, as plainly shewed they were pleased with any Occasion of mortifying the *Dutch*. Besides, the Politicks of the *French* ran at this time very opposite to those of *Britain*: They thought the Ministers here durst not meet the Parliament without a Peace; and that therefore Her Majesty would either force the States to comply with *France* by delivering up *Tournay*, which was the principal Point in Dispute, or would finish her own Peace with *France* and *Spain*, leaving a fixed Time for *Holland* to refuse or accept the Terms imposed on them. But the Queen, who thought the Demand of *Tournay* by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against *France*, rather than suffer Her Ally to want a Place so useful for their Barrier; And Mr. *Prior* was ordered to signify this Resolution of Her Majesty to Mons. *de Torcy*, in case that Minister could not otherwise be prevailed on. The *British* Plenipotentiaries did likewise at the same time express to those of *Holland* Her Majesty's great Satisfaction that the States were at last disposed to act in confidence with Her; that She wished this Resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the Delay but the *French* King; that however Her Majesty did not question the procuring a Safe and Honourable Peace by united Councils, reasonable Demands, and prudent Measures: That She would assist them in getting whatever was necessary to their Barrier, and in settling to their Satisfaction the Exceptions made by *France* out of the Tariff of 1664; That no other Difficulties remained of moment to retard the Peace, since the

Queen had obtained *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*; And in the Settlement of the *Low Countries*, would adhere to what She had delivered from the Throne: That as to the Empire; Her Majesty heartily wished their Barrier as good as could be desired, but that We were not now in Circumstances to expect every thing exactly according to the Scheme of *Holland*; *France* had already offered a great Part, and the Queen did not think the Remainder worth the Continuance of the War.

HER Majesty conceived the Peace in so much forwardness, that She thought fit about this time to nominate the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Lord *Lexington* for Ambassadours in *France* and *Spain* to receive the Renunciations in both Courts and adjust Matters of Commerce. The Duke was preparing for his Journey, when he was challenged to a Duel by the Lord *Mohun* a Person of infamous Character; He killed his Adversary upon the Spot; and weakened with the loss of Blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his Second, was most barbarously stabbed in the Breast by Lieutenant General *Maccartney* who was Second to Lord *Mohun*; He dyed after a few Minutes in the Field, and the Murtherer made his Escape. I thought so surprizing an Event might deserve barely to be related, although it be something foreign to my Subject.

THE Earl of *Strafford* who had come to *England* in [*May* 15] last in order to give Her Majesty an Account of the Disposition of Affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with her last Instructions to let the *Dutch* Ministers know, That some Points would probably meet with Difficulties not to be overcome, which Once might have been easily obtained; to shew what evil Consequences had already flowed from their Delay and Irresolution; and to entreat them to fix on some Proposition reasonable in itself, as well as possible to be effected: That the Queen would insist upon the Cession of *Tournay* by *France*, provided the States would concurr in finishing the Peace without starting new Objections, or insisting upon farther Points: That the *French* Demands in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria* appeared to be such as the Queen was of Opinion the States ought to agree to; which were to leave the Elector in possession

of *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy*, subject to the Terms of their Barrier, till He should be restored to his Electorate; and to give him the Kingdom of *Sardinia* to efface the Stain of his Degradation in the Electoral College: That the Earl had brought over a Project of a new Treaty of Succession and Barrier which Her Majesty insisted the States should sign before the Conclusion of the Peace; the former Treaty having been disadvantageous to her Subjects, containing in it the Seeds of future Dissensions, and condemned by the Sence of the Nation: Lastly that Her Majesty notwithstanding all Provocations, had for the sake of the *Dutch* and in hopes of their recovery from those false Notions which had so long misled them hitherto kept the Negociations open; that the Offers now made them were her last; and this the last time She would apply to them; that they must either agree, or expect the Queen would proceed immediatly to conclude her Treaty with *France* and *Spain*, in conjunction with such of her Allies as would think fit to adhere to Her.

As to *Savoy*; that the Queen expected, the States would concurr with Her in making good the Advantages stipulated for that Duke; and in prevailing with the Emperour to consent to an absolute Neutrality in *Italy* till the Peace should be concluded.

The Governing Party in *Holland*, however in appearance disposed to finish the Peace, affected new Delays, and raised many Difficulties about the Four Species of Goods which the *French* had excepted out of their Tariff. Count *Zinzendorf* the Emperor's Plenipotentiary did all that was possible to keep up this Humour in the *Dutch*, in hopes to put them under a Necessity of preparing for the next Campagne; and sometime after went so far in this Pursuit, that he summoned the several Ministers of the Empire; told them He had Letters from his Master with orders to signify to them that His Imperial Majesty resolved to begin the Campagne early with all his Forces united against *France*, of which he desired they would send notice to their Courts, that the several Princes might be ready to furnish their Contingents and Recruits. At the same time *Zinzendorf* endeavoured to borrow Two Millions

of Francs upon the Security of some Imperial Cities; but could not succeed either among the Jews or at *Amsterdam*.

WHEN the Earl of *Strafford* arrived at *Utrecht*, the Lord Privy Seal and He communicated to the *Dutch* Ministers the new Project for a Treaty of Succession and Barrier, as the Queen had ordered it to be prepared here in *England*, differing from the former in several Points of the greatest Moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed for several Weeks by the Plenipotentiaries of the States: But the Province of *Utrecht*, where the Congress was held, immediatly sent Orders to their Representatives at the *Hague* to declare their Province thankful to the Queen; that they agreed, the Peace should be made on the Terms proposed by *France*; and consented to the new projected Treaty of Barrier and Succession: And about the Close of the Year 1712 Four of the Seven Provinces had delivered their Opinion for putting an End to the War.

THIS Unusual Precipitation in the States so different from the whole Tenour of their former Conduct was very much suspected by the *British* Plenipotentiaries. Their Lordships had received Intelligence, that the *Dutch* Ministers held private and frequent Conferences with those of *France*; and had offered to settle their Interests with that Crown, without the Concurrence of *Britain*. Count *Zinzendorf* and his Collegues appeared likewise all on the sudden to have the same Dispositions, and in great haste to settle their several Differences with the States. The Reasons for this Proceeding were visible enough. Many Difficulties were yet undetermined in the Treaty of Commerce between Her Majesty and France, for the adjusting of which and some other Points the Queen had lately dispatched the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to that Court: Some of these were of hard Digestion, with which the Most Christian King would not be under a Necessity of complying, when He had no farther Occasion for us, and might upon that account afford better Terms to the other Two Powers. Besides the Emperour and States could very well spare Her Majesty the Honour of being Arbitrator of a General Peace; and the latter

hoped by this means to avoid the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession which We were now forcing on them.

To prevent the Consequences of this Evil, there fortunatly fell out an Incident, which the Two Lords at *Utrecht* knew well to make use of. The Quarrel between Mons. *Mesnager* and Count *Rechteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up, the *French* and *Dutch* differing in some Circumstances about the Satisfaction to be given by the Count for the Affront he had offered. The *British* Plenipotentiaries kept this Dispute on foot for several Days, and in the mean time pressed the *Dutch* to finish the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession between Her Majesty and Them; which about the middle of *January* was concluded fully to the Queen's Satisfaction.

But while these Debates and Differences continued at the Congress, the Queen resolved to put a speedy End to her Part in the War. She therefore sent Orders to the Lord Privy Seal and the Earl of *Strafford* to prepare every thing necessary for signing her own Treaty with *France*: This She hoped might be done against the meeting of the Parliament, now prorogued to the Third of *February*; in which time those among the Allies who were really inclined towards a Peace might settle their several Interests by the Support and Assistance of her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries: And, as for the rest who either would refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the Negociation; the Heads of their respective Demands which *France* had yielded by Her Majesty's Intervention, and agreeable to the Plan laid down in her Speech, should be mentioned in the Treaty; and a Time limited for the several Powers concerned, to receive or to reject them.

The Pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon some Difficulties alledged by the *French* about procuring him a safe Conduct to *Bar-le-Duc*, in the Duke of *Loraine*'s Dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The Queen altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her Subjects, declared She would not sign the Peace till that Person were removed; although several wise Men beleived He could be no where less dangerous to *Britain*, than in the Place where he was.

THE Argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession with *Britain*, was Her Majesty's Promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*, after which no more Differences remained between Us and that Republick, and consequently they had no farther Temptations to any separate Transactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of Treating with the *Dutch*. The Satisfaction they extorted for the Affront given by Count *Rechteren* to Mons. *Mesnager*, although somewhat softened by the *British* Ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet so rigorous, that Her Majesty could not forbear signifying Her Resentment of it to the Most Christian King. Mons. *Mesnager* who seemed to have the Genius more of a Merchant than a Minister, began in his Conferences with the Plenipotentiaries of the States to raise new Disputes upon Points with both We and They had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The Abbé *de Polignac*, a most accomplished Person, of great Generosity, and universal Understanding, was gone to *France* to receive the Cardinal's Cap; and the Marêchal *d'Huxelles* was wholly guided by his Collegue Mons. *Mesnager*, who kept up those Brangles that for a time obstructed the Peace; some of which were against all Justice, and others of small Importance; Both very little to the Advantage of his Country, and less to the Reputation of his Master or Himself. This low Talent in Business, which the Cardinal *de Polignac* used in contempt to call a *Spirit of Negociating*, made it impossible for the Two Lords Plenipotentiaries with all their superior Abilities and Experience to bring *Mesnager* to Reason, in several Points both with Us and the States. His Concessions were few and constrained, serving only to render him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the Towns which the States were to keep, He insisted that *France* should retain the Chatellenies or Extent of Country depending on them; particularly that of *Tournay*, a Demand the more unjustifyable, because He knew his Master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a Court in his Kingdom, where his own Judges extended the Territories about those Towns He had taken, as far as He pleased to direct

them. Mons. *Mesnager* shewed equal Obstinacy in what his Master expected for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and in refusing the Tariff of 1664: So that the Queen's Plenipotentiaries represented these Difficulties as what might be of dangerous Consequence both to the Peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

UPON these Considerations Her Majesty thought it her shortest and safest Course to apply directly to *France*, where She had then so able a Minister as the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. The Marquis *de Torcy*, Secretary to the Most Christian King was the Minister with whom the Duke was to Treat, as having been the First who moved his Master to apply to the Queen for a Peace, in opposition to a violent Faction in that Kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the War, as any other could be either here or in *Holland*. It would be very unlike an Historian to refuse this great Minister the Praise He so justly deserves, of having Treated through the whole Course of so great a Negociation with the utmost Candour and Integrity, never once failing in any One Promise he made, and always tempering a firm Zeal to his Master's Interest with a ready Complyance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at *Paris* with the Character of Minister-Plenipotentiary, and was very acceptable to that Court upon the Score of his Wit and Humour.

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* was directed to press the *French* Court upon the Points yet unsettled in the Treaty of Commerce between both Crowns; To make them drop their unreasonable Demands for the Elector of *Bavaria*; To let them know, that the Queen was resolved not to forsake her Allies, who were now ready to come in; that She thought the best way of hastening the General Peace was to determine Her own Particular one with *France*, till which Time She could not conveniently suffer Her Parliament to meet.

THE States were by this time so fully convinced of the Queen's Sincerity and Affection to their Republick, and how much they had been deceived by the Insinuations of the Factious Party in *England*, that they writt a very humble Letter

to the Queen, to desire Her Assistance towards settling those Points they had in dispute with *France*, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever Explanation Her Majesty would please to make of the Plan proposed in Her Speech to the Parliament. But the Queen had already prevented their Desires, and in the beginning of *February* 1712–13. directed the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to inform the *French* Court, that since She had prevailed on her Allies the *Dutch* to drop the Demand of *Condé*, and the other of the Four Species of Goods which the *French* had excepted out of the Tariff of 1664, She would not sign without them; that She approved of the *Dutch* insisting to have the Chatellenies restored with the Towns, and was resolved to stand or fall with them till they were satisfyed in this Point. Her Majesty had some Apprehensions that the *French* created these Difficulties on purpose to spin out the Treaty till the Campagne should begin. They thought it absolutly necessary that our Parliament should meet in a few Weeks, which could not well be ventured till the Queen were able to tell both Houses, That Her own Peace was Signed; that this would not only facilitate what remained in Difference between Us and *France*, but leave the *Dutch* entirely at Mercy of the latter.

THE Queen weary of these refined Mistakes in the *French* Politicks, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate Orders to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to let *France* know, That Her Majesty had hitherto prorogued Her Parliament in hope of accommodating the Difficulties in her own Treaties of Peace and Commerce with that Crown, as well as of settling the Interests of Her several Allies; Or at least, that the Differences in the former being removed, the Most Christian King would have made such Offers for the latter as might justify Her Majesty in signing Her own Peace, whether the Confederates intended to sign theirs or no. But several Points being yet unfinished between both Crowns, and others between *France* and the rest of the Allies, especially the States, to which the Plenipotentiaries of that Court at *Utrecht* had not thought fit to give Satisfaction; the Queen was now come to a final Determination both with relation to her own Kingdoms,

and to the whole Alliance: That the Campagne approaching She would not willingly be surprized in case the War was to go on: That She had transmitted to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* her last Resolutions, and would never be prevailed on to reduce Her own Demands, or those of her Allies, any lower than the Scheme now sent over, as an Explanation of the Plan laid down in her Speech: That Her Majesty had sent Orders to Her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* to assume the Character of Ambassadors and sign the Peace immediatly with the Ministers of the Most Christian King, as soon as the Duke of *Shrewsbury* should have sent them notice that the *French* had Complyed: That the Queen had therefore farther prorogued Her Parliament to the Third of *March*, in hopes to assure them by that time of Her Peace being agreed on; For if the Two Houses should meet while any Uncertainty remained, Supplies must be asked as for a War.

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* executed this important Commission with that Speed and Success which could be only expected from an able Minister. The *French* King immediatly yielded to the whole Scheme Her Majesty proposed: Whereupon Directions were sent to the Lord Privy Seal and the Earl of *Strafford* to sign a Peace between *Great Britain* and *France* without any Delay.

UPON the Second Day of *March* the Two *British* Plenipotentiaries met those of the Allies in the Town-house at *Utrecht*, where the Lord Privy-Seal addressed himself to them in a short Speech: "That the Negociation had now continued "Fourteen Months with great Slowness which had proved "very injurious to the Interests of the Allies; That the Queen "had stayed thus long, and stopped the finishing her own "Peace rather than leave her Allies in any Uncertainty: That "She hoped, they would now be all prepared to put an End "to this great Work; and therefore had Commanded Her "Plenipotentiaries to tell those of the Allies, That She found it "necessary to conclude her own Treaty immediatly, And it was "Her Opinion, That the Confederates ought to finish theirs "at the same time, to which they were accordingly now invited "by Her Majesty's Orders. And lastly, His Lordship declared

"in the Queen's Name, That whoever could not be ready on "the Day prefixed, should have a convenient Time allowed "them to come in."

ALTHOUGH the Orders sent by the Queen to Her Two Plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their Lordships did not precipitate the Performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a Day for the signing, as they conveniently could; but however, the particular Day was left to their Discretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and most of the other Allies to conclude at the same time with the Queen, which as it would certainly be more popular to their Country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves. Besides, upon looking over their Commission, a Scruple sprang in their minds, That they could not sign a Particular Peace with *France*, their Powers as they apprehended, authorizing them only to sign a General one. Their Lordships therefore sent to *England* to desire new Powers, and in the mean time employed themselves with great Industry between the Ministers of *France* and those of the several Allies to find some Expedient for smoothing the way to an Agreement among them. The Earl of *Strafford* went for a few Days to the *Hague*, to inform the States of Her Majesty's express Commands to his Collegue and Himself for signing the Peace as soon as possible; And to desire they would be ready at the same time; which the Pensionary promised, and that their Plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly; to the great Contentment of Mons. *Buys*, who was now so much altered either in reality or appearance, that he complained to the Earl of Mons. *Heinsius*'s Slowness, and charged all the Delays and Mismanagements of a Twelvemonth past to that Minister's Account.

WHILE the Earl of *Strafford* stayed at the *Hague*, he discovered that an Emissary of the Duke of *Marlborough* had been there some Days before, sent by His Grace to dissuade the *Dutch* from signing at the same time with the Ministers of the Queen; which in *England* would have at least the Appearance of a Separate Peace, and oblige their *British* Friends who knew how to turn so short a Delay to very good account, as well as gratify the Emperor on whom, it was alledged, they ought to

rely much more than on Her Majesty. One of the States likewi[se] told the Earl that the same Pers[on] employed by the Duke was then [in] Conference with the Magistrates o[f] *Rotterdam* (which Town had dec[lared] for the Continuance of the War) [to] assure them, That if they would [hold] off a little, they should see an[other] unexpected Change in the *Brit*[*ish*] Parliament; That the Duke [of] *Marlborough* had a List of [the] discontented Members in both [Houses] who were ready to turn again[st the] Court: And to crown all; That [His] Grace had certain Intelligence of the Queen being in so ill a State of Health, as made it impossible for her to live above Six Weeks. So restless and indefatigable are Avarice and Ambition when enflamed by a Desire of Revenge.

But these Representations which had been so often tryed, were now offered too late; most of the Allies, except the Emperour, were willing to put an End to the War upon Her Majesty's Plan: And the further Delay of Three Weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of Treating, peculiar to the *French*; whose Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* insisted with Obstinacy upon many Points which at *Paris* Mons. *Torcy* had given up.

The Emperour expected to keep all He already possessed in Italy; That, *Port-longue* on the *Tuscan* Coast should be delivered to him by *France*, and lastly That He should not be obliged to renounce *Spain*. But the Queen as well as *France* thought that His Imperial Majesty ought to sit down contented with his Partage of *Naples* and *Milan*, and restore those other Territories in *Italy* which He had taken from the rightful Proprietors, And was grown dangerous to the *Italian* Princes by reviving antiquated Claims upon them. This Prince had likewise refused Her Majesty's Expedient of suffering the Elector of *Bavaria* to retain *Luxemburg* under certain Conditions, by way of Security till his Electorate were restored. But the Queen supposing that these affected Delays were intended only with a View of continueing the War, Resolved to deferr the Peace no longer upon the Emperor's account.

In the middle of *March* 1712–13 a Courier arrived at *Utrecht* from *France* with the Plan of a General Peace as it

had been agreed between the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and Mons. *de Torcy*; wherein every Particular relating to the Interests and Pretensions of the several Allies was brought so near to what Each of them would accept, that the *British* Plenipotentiaries hoped the Peace would be General in Ten or Twelve Days. The *Portugueze* and *Dutch* were already prepared; and Others were daily coming in, by means of their Lordships good Offices, who found Mons. *Mesnager* and his Collegue very Stubborn to the last. Another Courier was dispatched to *France* upon some Disputes about inserting the Titles of Her Majesty and the Most Christian King; and to bring a General Plan for the Interests of those Allies who should not be ready against the Time prefixed. The *French* Renunciations were now arrived at *Utrecht*; and it was agreed that these as well as that of the King of *Spain* should be inserted at Length in every Treaty; by which means the whole Confederacy would become Guarantees of them.

THE Courier last sent to *France* returned to *Utrecht* on the 27th of *March* with the Concessions of that Court upon every necessary Point: So that all Things being ready for putting a Period to this great and difficult Work, the Lord Privy Seal and the Earl of *Strafford* gave notice to the Ministers of the several Allies, that their Lordships had appointed *Tuesday* the Thirtyfirst Instant, wherein to sign a Treaty of Peace and a Treaty of Commerce between the Queen of *Great Britain* their Mistress, and the Most Christian King; and hoped the said Allies would be prepared at the same Time to follow their Example. Accordingly their Lordships employed the three intervening Days in smoothing the few Difficulties that remained between the French Ministers and those of the several Confederate Powers.

THE Important Day being now come, the Bishop of *Bristol* and the Earl of *Strafford* having assumed the Character of Ambassadours Extraordinary, gave a Memorial in behalf of the *French* Protestants to the Marêchal *d'Huxelles* and his Collegue, who were to transmitt it to their Court; And these delivered to the *British* Ambassadours a Declaration in writing, That the Pretender was actually gone out of *France*.

The Conditions of Peace to be allowed the Emperour and Empire, as adjusted between *Britain* and *France*, were now likewise delivered to the Count *de Zinzendorf*. These and some other previous Matters of smaller Consequence being finished, The Treaties of Peace and Commerce between Her Majesty of *Britain* and the Most Christian King were signed at the Lord Privy Seal's House between two and three of the Clock in the Afternoon. The Ministers of the Duke of *Savoy* signed about an Hour after. Then the Assembly adjourned to the Earl of *Strafford*'s, where they all went to Dinner; and about Nine at Night the Peace was signed by the Ministers of *Portugal*; by those of *Prussia* at Eleven; and when it was near Midnight, by the States.

THUS after all the Opposition raised by a strong Party in *France*, and by a virulent Faction in *Britain*, after all the Artifices of those who presided at the *Hague*, and for their private Interest endeavoured in conjunction with their Friends in *England* to prolong the War; after the restless Endeavours of the Imperial Court to render the Treaty ineffectual; The firm, steady Conduct of the Queen, the Wisdom and Courage of her Ministry, and the Abilities of those whom she employed in her Negociations abroad, prevailed to have a Peace signed in One Day by every Power concerned, except that of the Emperour, and the Empire. For, His Imperial Majesty liked the Situation of his Affairs too well to think of a Peace, while the Drudgery and Expences of the War lay upon other Shoulders, and the Advantages were to Redound only to Himself.

DURING this whole Negotiation, the King of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the Confederates, had consequently no Minister at *Utrecht*; but the Differences between Her Majesty and that Prince were easily settled by the Lord *Lexington* at *Madrid*, and the Marquis of *Monteleon* here: so that upon the Duke *d'Ossuna*'s arrival at the Congress, some days after Peace, he was ready to Conclude a Treaty between the Queen and his Master. Neither is it Probable that the *Dutch*, or any other Ally, except the Emperour, will

Encounter any Difficulties of Moment, to Retard their Several Treaties with His Catholic Majesty.

THE Treaties of Peace and Commerce between *Britain* and *France* were Ratified here on the 7th of *April*: On the 28th the Ratifications were Exchanged; and on the 5th of *May*, the Peace was Proclaimed in the usual Manner; but with louder Acclamations, and more Extraordinary Rejoicings of the People, than had ever been Remembered on like Occasion.

APPENDIXES

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFATORY TO MILLAR'S EDITION OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN

THUS, the long wished for HISTORY *of the* FOUR LAST YEARS *of the* QUEEN*'s Reign is at length brought to light, in spight of all attempts to suppress it!*

As this publication is not made under the sanction of the name or names, which the author and the world had a right to expect; it is fit some account of the work's appearing in this manner should be her given.

Long before the DEAN*'s apparent decline, some of his intimate friends, with concern, foresaw the impending fate of his fortune and his works. To this, it is owing, that these sheets, which the world now despaired of ever seeing, are rescued from obscurity, perhaps from destruction.*

For this, the public is indebted to a gentleman, now in Ireland, *of the greatest probity and worth, with whom the* DEAN *long lived in perfect intimacy. To this gentleman's hands the* DEAN *intrusted a copy of his History, desiring him to peruse and give his judgment of it, with the last corrections and amendments the author had given it, in his own hand.*

His friend read, admired, and approved. And from a dread of so valuable and so interesting a work's being by any accident lost or effaced, as was probable by it's not being intended to be published in the author's life time; he resolved to keep this copy, till the author should press him for it; but with a determined purpose, it should never see the light, while there was any hopes of the author's own copy being published, or even preserved.

This resolution, he inviolably kept, till he and the world had full assurance, that the DEAN*'s executors, or those into whose hands the original copy fell, were so far from intending to publish it, that it was actually suppressed, perhaps destroyed.*

Then, he thought himself not only at liberty, but judged it his duty

to his departed friend, and to the public, to let this copy, which he had now kept many years most secretly, see the light.

Thus, it has at length fallen into the hands of a person, who publishes it for the satisfaction of the public, abstracted from all private regards; which are never to be permitted to come in competition with the common good.

Every judicious eye will see, that the author of these sheets wrote with strong passions, but with stronger prepossessions and prejudices in favour of a party. These, it may be imagined, the editor, in some measure, may have adopted, and published this work as a kind of support to that party, or some surviving remnant thereof.

It is but just to undeceive the reader, and inform him from what kind of hand he has received this work. A man may regard a good piece of painting, while he despises the subject: if the subject be ever so despicable, the masterly strokes of the painter may demand our admiration; while he, in other respects, is intitled to no portion of our regard.

In poetry, we carry our admiration still farther, and like the poet, while we actually contemn the man. Historians share the like fate: hence some, who have no regard to propriety or truth, are yet admired for diction, stile, manner, and the like.

The editor considers this work in another light: he long knew the author, and was no stranger to his politics, connexions, tendencies, passions, and the whole economy of his life. He has long been hardily singular in condemning this great man's conduct, amidst the admiring multitude; nor ever could have thought of making an interest in a man, whose principles and manners he could, by no rule of reason and honour, approve, however he might have admired his parts and wit.

Such was judged the disposition of the man, whose History of the most interesting period of time in the annals of Britain, *are now, herein, offered to the reader. He may well ask from what motives? The answer is easily, simply given:*

The causes assigned for delaying the publication of this History were principally these: that the manuscript fell into the hands of men, who, whatever they might have been by the generality deemed, were by the Dean *believed to be of his party; though they did not, after his death, judge it prudent to avow his principles, more than to deny them in his life-time. These men, having got their beavers, tobacco-boxes, and other trifling remembrances of former friendship, by the* Dean's

will, did not choose publicly to avow principles, that had marred their friend's promotion, and might probably put a stop to theirs: therefore, they gave the inquisitive world to understand, that there was something too strong against many great men, as well as the succeeding system of public affairs in general, in the DEAN'S *History of the four last years of the* QUEEN'S *Reign, to admit of a publication, in our times: and, with this poor insinuation, excused themselves, and satisfied the weakly well-affected, in suppressing the manifestation of displeasing truths, of however great importance to society.*

This manuscript has now fallen into the hands of a man, who never could associate with, or even approve any of the parties or factions, that have differently distracted, it might be said disgraced, these kingdoms; because, he has as yet known none, whose motives or rules of action were truth and the public good alone; of one, who judges, that perjured magistrates of all denominations, and their most exalted minions, may be exposed, deprived, or cut off, by the fundamental laws of his country; and who, upon these principles, from his heart, approves, and glories in, the virtues of his predecessors, who revived the true spirit of the British *polity, in laying aside a priest-ridden, an henpecked, tyrannical tool, who had overturned the political constitution of his country, and in reinstituting the dissolved body politic, by a* Revolution, *supported by the laws of nature and the realm, as the only means of preserving the natural and legal, the civil and religious liberties of the members of the commonwealth.*

Truth, in this man's estimation, can hurt no good cause. And falsehood and fraud, in religion and politics, are ever to be detected, to be exploded.

Insinuations, that this History contained something injurious to the present establishment, and therefore necessary to be suppressed, serve better the purposes of mistaken or insidious mal-contents, than the real publication can. And, if any thing were by this or any other History to be shewn essentially erroneous in our politics; who, that calls himself a Briton, *can be deemed such an impious slave, as to conceal the destructive evil? The editor of this work disdains and abhors the servile thought; and wishes to live no longer, than he dare to think, speak, write, and, in all things, to act worthy of a* Briton.

From this regard to truth and to his country, the editor of this History was glad of an opportunity of rescuing such a writing from

those who meant to suppress it: the common cause, in his estimation, required and demanded it should be done; and the sooner it is published, he judged, the better: for, if the conduct of the Queen and her ministers does not deserve the obloquy that has been long industriously cast upon it; what is more just than to vindicate it? What more reasonable, than that this should be done, while living witnesses may yet be called to prove or disprove the several allegations and assertions; since, in a few years more, such witnesses may be as much wanting, as to prevent a canonisation, which is therefore prudently procrastinated for above an age? Let us then coolly hear what is to be said on this side the question, and judge like Britons.

The editor would not be thought to justify the author of this History, in all points, or even to attempt to acquit him of unbecoming prejudices and partiality: Without being deeply versed in history or politics; he can see his author, in many instances, blinded with passions, that disgrace the historian, and blending with phrases, worthy of a Cæsar *or a* Cicero, *expressions not to be justified by truth, reason, or common sense; yet think him a most powerful orator, and a great historian.*

No unprejudiced person will blame the Dean, *for doing all that is consistent with truth and decency to vindicate the government of the* Queen, *and to exculpate the conduct of her ministers and her last General; all good men would rejoice at such a vindication. But, if he meant no more than this, his work would ill deserve the title of an History. That he generally tells truths, and founds his most material assertions upon facts, will, I think, be found very evident. But there is room to suspect, that while he tells no more than the truth, he does not tell the whole truth. However, he makes it very clear that the* Queen's *allies, especially our worthy friends the* Dutch, *were much to blame for the now generally condemned conduct of the* Queen, *with regard to the prosecution of the war and the bringing about the peace.*

The author's drawings of characters are confessedly partial: for he tells us openly, p. 10. *he means not to give characters intire, but such parts of each man's particular* passions, acquirements, *and* habits, *as he* was most likely to transfer into his political schemes. *What writing, what sentence, what character can stand this torture?---- What extreme perversion may not, let me say, does not, this produce?---- Yet thus does he choose to treat all men that were not favorers of the* latest *measures of the* Queen, *when the best that has been said for*

her, shews no more than that she was blind folded *and* held in leading-strings *by her* ministers.

He does not spare a man, confessed by all the world to have discharged the duties of his function like a soldier, like an hero. But charges Prince EUGENE *with raising and keeping up a most horrible mob, with intent to assassinate* Harley. *For all which odious charges, he offers not one individual point of proof.*

He is not content with laying open again the many faults already publicly proved upon the late Duke of Marlborough, *but insinuates a new crime, by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the throne. But this is done in a manner peculiar to this author.*

On the other hand, he extols the ministers and minions of the QUEEN *in the highest terms; and while he robs their antagonists of every good quality, generally gives those wisdom and every virtue that can adorn human nature.*

He is not ashamed to attempt to justify, what all thinking good men must condemn, the QUEEN'*s making twelve peers at once, to serve a particular turn.*

All these may be ascribed to the strength of his passions, and to the prejudices, early imbibed, in favor of his indulgent royal mistress and her favorites and servants. The judicious will look through the elegant cloathing, and dispassionately consider these as mere human errors, to which no well-informed mind can assent. The editor thinks himself bound to protest against them.

He makes a few lapses on the other side, without being as clear as an impartial historian would choose to appear. He more than hints at the QUEEN'*s displeasure at it's being moved in parliament, that the Prince* ELECTOR *should be invited to reside in* England, *to whose crown he was by law declared Presumptive Heir. But is always open upon the* QUEEN'*s insisting on the* Pretender's *being sent out of* France.----*It is easy to see how incompatible these things appear: Nothing could tend more to secure the* Hanover *succession, and to inlarge it's benefits to* Britain, *than the bringing over the successor, who should, in every country, be well instructed in the language, customs, manners, religion and laws of his future subjects, before he comes to hold the reins of government. And, our author does not take the proper care to inform us how far the* French *thought fit to comply with banishing the* Pretender *their dominions; since many still live*

in doubt, that if he was sent out of France, *he was sent into* England.

But there is one expression of our author too perverse, too grossly abused, to admit of any apology, of any palliation. It is not to be supposed, that he was ignorant of any word in the English *language. And least of all can he be supposed ignorant of the meaning of a word, which had it been ever so doubtful before, had a certain meaning impressed upon it by the authority of parliament, of which no sensible subject can be ignorant.*

Notwithstanding this, where our author speaks of the late King James, *he calls him the* abdicated King, *and gives the same epithet even to his family. Though this weak, ill-advised, and ill-fated prince, in every sense of the word, with* Romans *and* English, *and to all intents and purposes,* abdicated; *yet can he, in no sense be called* abdicated; *unless the people's asserting their rights, and defending themselves against a king, who broke his compact with his subjects, and overturned their government, can be called* abdication *in them; which no man in his senses can be hardy enough to support upon any principle of reason or the laws of* England. *Let the reader judge which this is most likely to be, error or design.*

These exceptions, the editor thought himself bound to make to some parts of this work, to keep clear of the disagreeable imputations of being of a party, of whatsoever denomination, in opposition to truth and the rights and liberties of the subject.

These laid aside, the work will be found to have many beauties, many excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this History, from an insinuation, made only since the author's death; to wit, that he was never admitted into the secrets of the administration, but made to believe he was a confident, only to engage him in the list of the ministerial writers of that reign.

The falsehood of this will readily appear upon perusal of the work. This shews he knew the most secret springs of every movement in the whole complicated machine. That he states facts, too well known to be contested, in elegant simplicity, and reasons upon them with the talents of the greatest historian. And thus makes an history, composed rather of negotiations than actions, most entertaining, affecting and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull and disagreeable.

It is now fit to apologise for some errors, which the judicious must

discover upon a perusal of this work. It is for this, among other reasons much to be lamented, that this History was not published under the author's own inspection. It is next to impossible to copy or print any work without faults, and most so, where the author's eye is wanting.

It is not to be imagined, that even our author, however accurate, however great, was yet strictly and perfectly correct in his writings. Yet, where some seeming inaccuracies in stile or expression have been discovered; the deference due to the author made any alteration too presumptuous a task for the editor. These are therefore left to the amending hand of every sensible and polite reader, while the editor hopes it will suffice, that he should point out some of those errors which are to be ascribed either to transcribers or the press, and which may be rectified in the manner following, in reading the work.

[Here follows a list of errata which have been included in the Textual Notes.]

And thus, with these and perhaps some few such like corrections, which the editor might have overlooked, it is hoped this work will be found compleatly correct.

THE CHARACTER OF ROBERT HARLEY

The following Fragment is printed with the kind permission of the Marquess of Bath from Swift's autograph draft, which he submitted to Harley on February 11, 1712/13: LONGLEAT MSS. Portland Papers, Vol. XIII, fols. 47, 48.

IN this oppressed and entangled State was the Kingdom with relation to its Debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of Godolphin from his office, and putt it into Commission, of which the present Treasurer was one. This Person had been chosen Speaker successively to three Parliamts, was afterwards Secretary of State, and allways in great esteem with the Queen for His Wisdom and Fidelity. The late Ministry about two years before their Fall, had prevailed with Her Majesty much against her Inclination to dismiss him from her Service, for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavored the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he should succeed in the same Attempt a second time, against these very Adversaryes who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steddy in his Resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he has once possessed himself of an Opinion that they are right: Nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by Experience that a Secret is seldom safe in more than one Breast. That which occurrs to other Men after mature Deliberation, offers to him as his first Thought, so that he decides immediatly what is best to be done, and is therefore never at a loss upon sudden Exigencyes. He thinks it a more easy and safe Rule in Politicks, to watch Incidents as they come, and then turn them to the Advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, Avarice, Cruelty, and Pride are wholly Strangers to his Nature; but he is not without Ambition. His Detractors who charge him with Cunning, are but ill acquainted with his

Character: For, in the sense they take the Word, and as it is usually understood, I know no Man to whom that mean Talent could be with less Justice applyed, as the Conduct of Affairs while he hath been at the Helm, doth clearly demonstrate: Very contrary to the Nature and Principles of Cunning: which is always employd in serving little Turns, proposing little Ends, and supplying daily Exigencyes by little Shifts and Expedients. But to rescue a Prince out of the Hands of insolent Subjects, bent upon such Designs as must probably end in the Ruin of the Government; to find out Means for paying such immense Debts as this Nation is involved in, and reduce it to better Managemt; to make a potent Enemy offer advantageous Terms of Peace, and deliver up the most important Fortress of his Kingdom as a Pledge; and this against all the Oppositions mutually raised and enflamed by Partyes and Allyes: Such Performances can onely be called Cunning by those whose Want of Understanding or of Candor puts them upon finding ill Names for great Qualityes of the Mind which themselves do neither possess nor can form any just Conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate Love of Secrecy in this Minister, seems at distance to have some Resemblance of Cunning; for he is not onely very retentive of Secrets, but *Appears* to be so too; which I number among his Defects. He hath been blamed by his Friends for refusing to discover his Intentions, even in those Points where the wisest man may have need of Advice and Assistance: and some have censured him upon that Account, as if he were jealous of Power; to which he hath been heard to answer, that he seldom did otherwise without Cause to repent. However, so undistinguished a Caution cannot in my Opinion be altogether justifyed; by which the Owner loses many Advantages, and whereof all men who are really honest may with some Reason complain. His Love of Procrastination (wherein doubtless Nature has her share) may probably be encreased by the same means; but this is an Imputation layd upon many other great Ministers, who like Men under two heavy a Load, let fall that which is of least Consequence, and go back to fetch it when their Shoulders are free. For, Time is often gained as well

as lost by Delay, which at worst is a Fault on the securer side. Neither probable is this Minister answerable for half the Clamor raised against Him upon this Article. His Endeavors are wholly turned upon the generall welfare of His Country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular Persons, which renders him less amiable than he would otherwise have been from the goodness of his Nature, and his agreeable Conversation in a private Capacity, and with few Dependents. Yet some Allowance may be given to this Failing, which is one of the greatest he has, since he cannot be more careless of other Mens Fortunes than he is of his own. He is Master of a very great and faithfull Memory, which is of mighty use in the management of publick Affairs: And I believe there are few Examples to be produced in any Age of the World, of a Person who hath passed through so many Employments in the State, endowed with so great a share both of divine and human Learning.

I am persuaded that Foreigners, as well as those at home who live too remote from the scene of Business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this Account of a Person who in the space of . . . Years hath been so highly instrumentall in changing the face of Affairs in Europe, and hath deserved so well of his own Prince and Country.

In that perplexed Condition of the publick Debts which I have above described, this Minister was brought into the Treasury and Exchequer &c.

THE MATERIALS FOR THIS HISTORY

IN the Preface which Swift prepared for this volume he claims that he had been

> daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her Majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made in the course of their administration (see above, p. xxxiii).

From the very detailed record that is available in the *Journal to Stella* we can be sure that Swift is justified in making such a claim for the period during which the negotiations for the Treaty of Utrecht were going forward, until indeed the peace was finally settled in March 1713. He left London on June 1 for Dublin to be installed as Dean of St. Patrick's; but two months later was being urged to return by Erasmus Lewis, who wrote on July 30, 1713:

> My Lord Treasurer desires you will make all possible haste over, for we want you extremely (*Corr.* ii, 57).

Accordingly he left Dublin again on August 29, and arrived in London on September 9; but already on October 1 he writes to Archdeacon Walls:

> I am heartily weary of Courts and Ministers, and politics, for several reasons impossible to tell you, and I have a mind to be home, since the Queen has been pleased that Ireland should be my home (*Corr.* ii, 69).

However he remained in close touch with the Ministers until the following June, when he left London, and retired to the Rectory at Letcome Bassett in Berkshire, declaring that 'nothing shall make me return to town while things are in the situation I left them'. In view of his frequent expression of dissatisfaction and frustration during this winter, it may well be doubted whether during the last year of the Queen's reign

he was fully aware of the policies on which Oxford and Bolingbroke were embarked, even though it was evidently felt that his influence might still be strong enough to prevent the breach between them.

But this does not invalidate his claim that he had been in a position to write with authority of the events which he treats of in his History. For, in spite of its misleading title, it was concerned only with the affairs of those years before the Peace of Utrecht was signed. It was in fact completed before Swift left London on June 1, 1713. He was careful to endorse the manuscript: 'Written at Windsor in the Year 1713'. In his letter to Lewis of July 23, 1737, when he was proposing to publish it, he again emphasizes this:

> The History you mention was written above a year before the Queen's death. I left it with the Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, when I first came over to take this Deanery. . . . It was to conclude with the peace (*Corr.* vi, 37).

Though Swift worked over the manuscript later, and made some slight modifications and improvements in the style, he made no additions and adjusted nothing in the light of later developments. He intended it as a pamphlet for immediate publication in 1713, to justify the Peace. He told the Earl of Oxford he wished it to be published later in the form in which he had written it 'to the confusion of all those rascals who have accused the Queen and that Ministry of making a bad peace' (*Corr.* vi, 21). In the same letter of June 14, 1737, he claimed 'to have wanted no kind of materials'; and in his Preface he describes precisely what they were:

> The materials . . . were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers as well as instructions sent to them by our Secretaries of state, or by the first minister the Earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home (see above, p. xxxiv).

I have consulted some of these materials in the Public Record Office, and have chosen the following examples as sufficient proof that Swift did have access to them as he here states, and that he used them scrupulously as the basis of his narrative.

I

Preliminary Demands submitted to France in June 1711 by Mr. Prior (see above, pp. 42f.).

For the text of these Demands Swift does not use the draft or the rough translation available in English, but gives a careful translation of the original French text, to which the royal authority had been attached as follows:

> Le Sieur Prior est pleinement instruit et authorisé de communiquer a la France nos demandes Preliminaires, et de nous en rapporter la reponse.
>
> A. R.

DEMANDES PRELIMINAIRES

La Grande Bretagne n'entrera dans aucune negociation de Paix sans obtenir prealablement

Que l'union des Couronnes de la France et l'Espagne sera prevenüe, Que satisfaction sera donnée à tous les Allies, & que le commerce sera retabli et maintenu.

Si la France est disposée à traitter dans cette veue, on ne doute point que les propositions suivantes ne soient trouvées raisonnables.

Une barriere sera formée dans les Pais Bas pour les Etats Generaux, & leur commerce sera assuré. Une Barriere sera aussi formée pour l'Empire.

Les Pretentions de tous les Allies fondées sur des Traittés seront reglées & determinées à la satisfaction commune.

Pour faire un plus juste partage du pouvoir de l'Italie, les domaines et territoires qui appartenoient au commencement de la presente guerre au Duc de Savoye, et qui sont presentement en la possession de la France seront restitues à Son Altesse Royalle, et telles autres plaies en Italie luy seront cedées qu'on trouvera necessaires, & agreables au sens des Traittés faits avec ce Prince.

Pour la Grande Bretagne plus particulierement.

La Succession a la Couronne de ces Royaumes Selon l'etablissement present sera reconnue.

Un noveau Traitté de commerce entre la Grande Bretagne & la France Sera fait de la maniere la plus Juste & raisonnable.

Dunquerque sera demolié.

Gibraltar & le Port Mahon resteront entre les mains de ceux qui les possedent presentement.

Le Pacte d'Assiente sera fait avec les Anglois de la meme maniere que les Francois le possedent à present: Et telles places dans l'Amerique Espagnole seront assignées aux interressés dans ce commerce pour le rafraichissement & vente de leur Negres qui seront trouvées necessaires & convenables.

Tous les avantages, droits, & privileges qui sont deja accordés, ou qui pourront etre accordés doresenavant par l'Espagne aux sujets de la France, ou de quelque autre nation que ce soit, seront pareillement accordes aux Sujets de la Grande Bretagne.

Et pour mieux proteger le commerce dans l'Amerique Espagnole on y mettra les Anglois en possession de telles places qui seront nommées dans le Traitté de Paix.

La Terre neuve, la Baye & les detroits de Hudson seront entierement restitues aux Anglois, & la Grande Bretagne & la France garderont & possederont respectivement tous Pais, Domaines, & Territoires, dans l'Amerique Septentrionale que chacune de ces Nations possedera au tems que la ratification de ce traitté sera publiée dans ces parties du monde.

Ces demandes & toute autre procedure entre la Grande Bretagne, & la France seront tenues inviolablement secretes, Jusques a ce qu'elles seront divulguiés par le consentement mutuel des Parties.

II

The French Answers to these demands (see above, pp. 44–49) are translated from the following document, S.P. 103, vol. 15, pp. 13–15, 38 ff.

REPONSE AUX DEMANDES CONTENÜES DANS LE MEMOIRE DONNÉ PAR LE SR. PRIOR

Le Roy persiste a declarer que l'entremise de la Grand' Bretagne luy sera plus agreable que toutte autre voye pour traitter la Paix generale. Ainsy Sa Majesté voulant contribuer de tout son pouvoir a procurer vn aussy grand bien a la chrestienté, Elle repond aux demandes qui luy ont esté faites.

Premierement

Qu'elle consentira volontairement et de bonne foy a prendre touttes les mesures justes et raisonnables pour empescher que les Couronnes de France et d'Espagne soient jamais reünies sur la teste d'vn mesme Prince, Sa Majte estant persuadée que cet excez de puissance seroit aussy contraire au bien et au repos general de l'Europe, qu'il seroit opposé au Testament du feu Roy d'Espagne Charles Second.

Secondement

L'intention du Roy est que touttes les parties engagées dans la guerre presente, trouuent leur satisfaction raisonnable dans le traitté de paix a faire, Que le commerce soit restably et maintenû desormais a l'auantage des Nations qui ont accoutumé de l'exercer.

Troisiemement

Comme le Roy veut aussy maintenir exactement l'obseruation de la paix lorsqu'elle aura esté conclüe et que l'objet que Sa Majte se propose est d'asseurer les frontieres de son Royaume sans troubler en quelque maniere que ce soit les Estats voisins, Elle promet de conuenir par le traitté de paix futur que les Hollandois auront entre leurs mains les places fortes qui seront specifiées dans leur Paysbas, pour seruir desormais comme de Barriere qui . . . (*torn*) le repos de la Repube d'Hollande contre toutte entreprise de la part de la France.

Quatriemement

Le Roy s'engage a donner aussy les seuretez necessaires pour dissiper les vains ombrages qu'on a voulu inspirer aux Princes de l'Empire des desseins de Sa Majte

Cinquiemement

Lorsque les conferences pour la Negotiation de la paix seront formées on y discutera de bonne foy et a l'amiable, toutes les pretentions des Princes et Estats engagez dans la presente guerre, et rien ne sera obmis pour les regler et pour les terminer a la satisfaction de touttes les parties.

Sixiemement

Suiuant les instances faites au Roy par le present gouuernement d'Angleterre, Sa Majesté promet de rendre au Duc de Sauoye les Domaines et Territoires qui appartenoient a ce Prince au commencement de la presente guerre, et qu'elle possede presentement, asseurant de plus qu'elle consentira qu'il soit encore cedé au Duc de Sauoye telles autres places en Italie qu'on trouuera necessaire conformement au Sens des Traittez faits entre ce Prince et ses Alliez.

Septiemement

Les Sentimens que le Roy a temoigner pour le gouuernement present de la Grand'Bretagne, La Declaration precise que Sa Majesté a faite en Hollande de la resolution qu'elle auoit prise de traitter la paix par la voye des Anglois, l'asseurance qu'elle a donnée de porter le Roy d'Espagne a laisser Gibraltar entre leurs mains, touttes preuues de sa parfaite estime pour vne nation encore en guerre auec Elle, ne laissent pas lieu de douter que Sa Majesté ne se porte a donner a l'Angleterre toutes les Seuretez et tous les auantages que ce Royaume pourra demander raisonnablement pour son commerce. Mais comme Sa Majte ne peut se persuader qu'vn gouuernement aussy eclairé que celuy d'Angleterre, insiste sur des conditions qui detrüivoient absolument le commerce de la France, celuy de l'Espagne, et celuy de touttes les autres Nations de l'Europe, Elle a crû

que leur demandes faites parta Gd.'Bretagne meritoient vne discussion plus particuliere.

Sur ce fondement Le Roy a jugé que le meilleur moyen d'auancer et de consommer vne negotiation que Sa Majte aveu commencer auec plaisir, estoit de faire passer en Angleterre vn homme instrüit de ses intentions, et autorisé par Elle a conuenir des Seuretez pour le commerce des sujets de cette Couronne et des auantages de particuliers qui pourvont estre stipuler en leur faueur, sans detruire le commerce des françois, celuy des Espagnols et celuy des autres nations de l'Europe.

Ainsy Sa Majte a chargé celuy qu'elle a choisy pour cette commission de repondre aux autres articles du memoire donné par le Sr. Prior, dont le Secret sera gardé exactement.

Reponse de la France aux Demandes Preliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne plus particulierement

Le Roy estant particulierement informé par le dernier Memoire que les Ministres de la Grande Bretagne ont remis au Sieur Mesnager des dispositions de cette Couronne à faciliter la Paix Generale à la satisfaction de toutes les parties interessés dans la presente Guerre. Et Sa Majesté voyant effectivement, ainsi que le porte ce meme Memoire qu'elle ne risque rien en s'engageant de la maniere qu'il y est exprimé, puisque les Articles preliminaires n'auront aucun effet avant la Signature de la Paix Generale; Desirant d'ailleurs tres sincerement de faire tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour avancer le Retablissement du Repos de l'Europe, principalement par une voye aussi agreable à sa Majesté que le sera l'entremise d'une Princess que tant de liaisons du Sang doivent unir avec Elle, et dont les Sentimens pour la tranquilité publique ne sçauroient estre douteux. Sa Majesté touchée par ces Considerations a ordonné au Sieur Mesnager Chevalier de Son Ordre de St. Michel, Deputé au Conseil de Commerce de faire par écrit les Reponses suivantes aux Articles contenus dans le Memoire qui luy a esté remis, et qui sont intitulés, *Demandes Preliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne plus particulierement.*

Reponses du Roy.

1r Article.

Sa Majesté reconnoitra la Reine de la Grande Bretagne en cette qualité aussi bien que la Succession à cette Couronne suivant l'Etablissement present.

2o

Le Roy consent à faire un nouveau Traitté de Commerce avec la Grande Bretagne de la maniere la plus juste, la plus raisonnable, et la plus avantageuse à la France, et à la Grande Bretagne.

3o

Quoyque Dunquerque ait couté au Roy des sommes tres grandes tant pour l'acquerir, que pour le fortifier; et qu'il soit necessaire de faire encore une depense tres considerable pour en raser les Ouvrages, Sa Majesté veut bien toutes fois s'engager à les faire demolir immediatement apres la Conclusion de la Paix, à condition qu'il luy sera donné pour les Fortifications de cette place un Equivalent convenable, et dont Elle soit contente. Et comme l'Angle-

Demandes Preliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne plus particulierement.

1r Article.

La Succession à la Couronne de ces Royaumes selon l'Etablissement present sera reconnüe.

2o

Un nouveau Traitté de Commerce entre la Grande Bretagne et la France sera fait de la maniere la plus juste et raisonnable.

3o

Dunquerque sera demoli.

terre ne peut fournir le dit Equivalent, la discussion en sera remise aux Conferences qui se tiendront pour la Negotiation de la Paix Generale.

4°

Le Roy promet au nom du Roy d'Espagne son petit fils, et suivant le pouvoir que Sa Majesté en a receu de ce Prince que Gibraltar et le Port Mahon demeureront entre les Mains des Anglois, qui possedent presentement l'un et l'autre.

5°

Les Anglois auront apres la Paix conclüe la traitte des Negres de Guinée aux Indes Occidentales, autrement le Pacte d'Assiento aux memes conditions que cette Convention a esté faite par le Roy d'Espagne avec les François, en sorte que la Compagnie qui sera etablie pour cet effet en Angleterre aura la Prerogative de faire reposer, vendre, et debiter ses Negres dans toutes les places et ports de l'Amerique sur la Mer du Nord, dans celuy de Buenos Ayres et generalement dans toutes les places et ports dont l'entrée estoit permise aux

4°

Gibraltar et le Port Mahon resteront entre les mains de ceux qui les possedent presentement.

5°

Le Pacte d'Assiento sera fait avec les Anglois de la meme maniere que les François le possedent à present; et telles places dans l'Amerique Espagnole seront assignées aux interessez dans ce Commerce pour le rafraichissement et vente de leurs Negres qui seront trouvées necessaires et convenables.

Vaisseaux de la Compagnie formée en France sous le nom de l'Assiento.

6°

Le Roy promet pour luy meme, et pour le Roy d'Espagne suivant le pouvoir qui est entre les mains de Sa Majesté, que cet Article sera accordé en cas de la conclusion de la Paix, comme les precedents, et qu'il sera ponctuellement executé.

7°

6°

Tous les Avantages, droits, et Privileges, qui sont deja accordés, ou qui pouront estre accordés doresnavant par l'Espagne aux sujets de la France, ou de quelque autre Nation que ce soit, seront pareillement accordés aux Sujets de la Grande Bretagne.

7°

Et pour mieux proteger le Commerce dans l'Amerique Espagnole, on y mettra les Anglois en possession de telles places, qui seront nommées dans le Traitté de Paix.

La France ayant offert une Seureté reelle pour le Commerce des Sujets de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne dans l'Amerique Espagnole, on n'a jamais douté, qu'elle n'entendist par là des places; et l'on a esté confirmé dans cette opinion, vû qu'elle a proposé Gibraltar comme une Seureté peur le Commerce d'Espagne et de la Mediterranée les Avantages et les Privilege offerts par le Sieur Mesnager ne doivent pas estre regardés

Quoyque le Roy d'Espagne au commencement de Son regne fût porté à favoriser la Nation Françoise qu'il eust besoin de secours d'Argent pour subvenir aux frais d'une Guerre imminente; ce Prince non obstant ces considerations n'accorda que pour dix ans aux François le Privilege de la Traitte des Negres. Ce comme des Seuretés reelles, parce qu'il sera toujours dans le pouvoir de l'Espagne de les reprendre. C'est pourquoy l'on croit que la France est dans l'obligation ou de faire ceder à la Grande Bretagne les places demandées dans cet Article, ou de luy procurer de nouveaux Avantages, tels que l'Amour de la Paix puisse faire accepter comme un Equivalent; Sur quoy on se trouve obligé d'insister que ce Ministre soit muni d'un pouvoir suffisant. Et pour marquer d'autant mieux la sincerité avec la quelle on traitte, et le desir que Sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne a d'avancer la Paix Generale. Elle a trouvé à propos de declarer que la difficulté survenüe sur cet Article poura estre levée en Luy accordant les Articles suivants.

Que le Pacte d'Assiento soit fait avec la Grande Bretagne pour le terme de trente Ans.

seroit beaucoup faire en favour des Anglois que de laisser pendant vingt ans entre les mains de la Nation Angloise une prerogative dont il semble que toutes les Nations de l'Europe voudront jouir chacune à leur tour. Toutesfois le Roy promet que le Roy son petit fils laissera aux Anglois pendant trente années consecutives la Traitte des Negres de Guinée aux Indes Occidentales autrement le Pacte d'Assiento aux memes conditions, Prerogatives, et Privileges accordés à la Compagnie Françoise, et dont elle a joui ou deu jouir depuis le premier May de l'année 1702 jusqu'à present.

Le Roy accordera cet Article.

Sa Majesté promet pareillement au Nom du Roy d'Espagne les Avantages et exemptions de Droits dont il est fait mention dans cet Article, et dont les Anglois jouiront immediatement apres la Conclusion de la Paix à l'eschange des Ratifications.

La Paix Generale estant faite, il sera assigné à la Compagnie Angloise de l'Assiento une etendüe de terrain dans la Riviere de la

Que l'Isle entiere de St. Christophle soit asseurée à la Grand Bretagne.

Que les avantages & exemptions de Droits promis par le Sieur Mesnager, et qu'il pretend devoir monter à quinze pour cent de profit sur toutes les Marchandises du crû et de la Manufacturs de la Grande Bretagne luy soient effectivement accordés.

La Grande Bretagne peut rafraichir à la Jamaique ses Negres, et y faire la distribution de ceux qu'elle envoira à la Vera Cruz, à Porto-bello, et

Plata, sur le quel elle poura non seulement rafraicher ses Negres, mais les garder en seureté jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient vendus, suivant les conditions qui seront stipulées par la Convention qui doit estre passée pour l'Assiento. Et pour empecher qu'il ne soit abusé de cette permission le Roy d'Espagne nommera un Officier pour y veiller, à l'inspection du quel les interessés à la dite Compagnie, et generalement tous ceux qu'ils employeront pour en faire le Service seront soumis.

aux autres Comptoirs dans cette partie des Indes. Mais comme du costé de la Riviere de Plate elle n'est en possession d'aucune Colonie, on demande qu'il luy soit assigné dans cette riviere quelque etendüe de terrain, sur le quel elle poura non seulement rafraichir ses Negres, mais les garder en seureté jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient vendus aux Espagnols. Et comme on n'entend aucune finesse en faisant cette demande, on se soumettra à cet égard à l'inspection de l'Officier qui sera nommé à cette fin par l'Espagne.

8o

La discussion de cet Article sera remise aux Conferences generales de la Paix, bien entendu que la faculté de pescher et de secher la Morue sur l'Isle de Terreneuve sera reservée aux François.

8o

La Terre neuve, la Baye et les Detroits de Hudson seront entierement restitués aux Anglois. La Grande Bretagne et la France garderont et possederont respectivement tous les païs, domaines et territoires dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, que chacune de ces Nations possedera au tems que la Ratification de ce Traitté sera publiée dans ces parties du monde.

En execution des Ordres du Roy nous soussigné Chevalier de Son Ordre de St. Michel, Deputé au Conseil de Commerce avons arreté les presentes Reponses aux Demandes preliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne au nombre de huit Articles,

en vertu du pouvoir de Sa Majesté dont Nous avons fourni la Copie signée de notre main, et promettons au Nom de sa dite Majesté que les dites Reponses seront regardées comme Conditions qu'elle convient d'accorder, dont les Articles seront redigés dans la forme ordinaire des Traittés, et expliqués de la maniere la plus nette et la plus intelligible à la satisfaction commune des Couronnes de France, et de la Grande Bretagne; Et ce en cas de Signature du Traitté de la Paix Generale. En foy de quoy nous avons signé et mis le Cachet de nos Armes. Fait &c.

Le Roy tres Chretien ayant temoigné à la Reine le desir sincere qu'il a de voir retablir la tranquilité generale de l'Europe par une Paix definitive, seure, durable, et convenable aux Interests de tous les Alliés, et ayant souhaitté que la Reine voulust avancer la Negotiation d'une telle Paix, Il a esté trouvé juste et raisonnable que les Interests de la Grande Bretagne fussent en premier lieu ajustés et asseurés. Pour cet effet le Roy tres Chretien ayant envoyé le Sieur Mesnager Chevalier de Son Ordre de St. Michel, et Deputé au Conseil de Commerce, il a arresté les Articles susmentionnés au nombre de huit en vertu du Pouvoir de Sa Majesté tres Chretienne, dont il nous a fourni la Copie signée, de Sa Main; les quels Articles nous soussignés declarons en vertu d'un Ordre expres de Sa Majesté, qu'Elle accepte comme Articles preliminaires, qui ne contiennent que des Seuretes er des Avantages que Sa Majesté se croit en droit d'attendre, quiconque soit le Prince qui aura en partage la Monarchie d'Espagne. Et ces Articles doivent estre regardés comme Conditions que Sa Majesté tres Chretienne convient d'accorder; les quels Articles seront redigés dans la forme ordinaire des Traittés, et expliqués de la maniere la plus nette, et la plus intelligible à la satisfaction commune des Couronnes de la Grande Bretagne, et de la France. Et ce seulement en cas de Signature de la Paix Generale. En foy de quoy nous avons signé, et mis les Cachets de nos Armes. Fait &c.

Le Roy voulant contribuer autant qu'il dépend de Sa Majesté a retablir une bonne et Solide Paix dans la Chrestienté,

et prenant une entiére confiance en la Fidelité, prudence et capacité du Sr. Mesnager Chevalier de Son Ordre de St. Michel er deputé au Conseil de Commerce, Elle luy a donné et donne Pleinpouvoir Commission et mandement Special, pour et au Nom de Sa Majesté Traitter et Negocier avec tels Ministres ou Deputes munis de pouvoirs en bonne forme de la part des Princes et Estats actuellement en Guerre contre Sa Majesté, arester, conclure et Signer les Traites Articles et Conventions qu'il avisera bon estres. *Promettant* Sa ditte Majesté en foy et parole de Roy d'accomplir et d'executer ponctuellement, avoir agreable et tenir ferme et stable a toujours tout ce que le dit Sieur Mesnager aura promis, Stipulé, et Signe, en vertu du present pouvoir, sans jamais y contrevenir n'y permettre qu'il y soit contrevenu pour quelque cause ou sous quelque pretexte que ce puisse étre, comme aussi d'en fournir sa Ratification dans le tems qui aura este convenu.

En temoignage de quoy Sa Majesté a Signe les dittes presentes Fe Sa main, et y a fait apposer le Seel de son Secret. Fait a donteinebleau le 3me Aoust 1711.

Signé

LOUIS

et plus bas

COLBERT.

La coppie figuree de l'autre part est conforme a l'original demeuré en nos mains en foy de quoy nous qui auons signé cejourdhuy les articles preliminaires auons aussy signé la presente coppie et mis le cachet de nos armes fait a Londres le ving septieme Septembre vieux stile et du nouueau le huictieme octobre mil sept cents onze.

MESNAGER.

III

The Preliminary Articles from France (see above, pp. 50–51) are translated from the following document, S.P. 103, vol. 15, pp. 73–74:

ARTICLES PRELIMINAIRES DE LA PART DE LA FRANCE POUR PARVENIR À LA PAIX GENERALE

Le Roy voulant contribuer de tout son pouvoir au Retablissement de la Paix Generale Sa Majesté declare

Premierement

Qu'elle reconnoitra la Reine de la Grande Bretagne en cette qualité, aussi bien que la Succession à cette Couronne suivant l'Etablissement present.

Secondement

Qu'elle consentira volontairement et de bonne foy à prendre toutes les mesures justes et raisonnables pour empescher, que les Couronnes de France et d'Espagne soient jamais reunies sur la tête d'un meme Prince; Sa Ma^te^ étant persuadée, que cet excez de puissance seroit contraire au bien & au repos de l'Europe.

Troisiemement

L'Intention du Roy est, que toutes les parties engagées dans la Guerre presente, sans en excepter aucune, trouvent leur satisfaction raisonnable dans le Traité de Paix à faire: Que le Commerce soit retabli et maintenu desormais à l'avantage de la Grande Bretagne, de la Hollande, et des autres Nations, qui ont accoutumé de l'exercer.

Quatriemement

Comme le Roy veut aussy maintenir exactement l'observation de la paix, lorsqu'elle aura este conclue, et que l'objet que Sa Majesté se propose est d'asseurer les Frontieres de Son Royaume, sans troubler en quelque maniere que ce soit les Estats voisins, Elle promet de convenir par le Traitté de Paix futur, que les Holandois auront entre leurs mains les places fortes qui seront specifiées dans les païs Bas, pour servir desormais de Barriere, qui asseure le repos de la Republique de Hollande contre toute entreprise de la part de la France.

Cinquiemement

Le Roy consent aussy qu'il soit formé à l'Empire et à la Maison d'Autriche une Barriere seure et convenable.

Sixiemement

Quoy que Dunquerque ait cousté au Roy des Sommes tres grandes tant pour l'acquerir que pour le fortifier, & qu'il soit necessaire de faire encore une depence tres considerable pour en raser les Ouvrages, Sa Majesté veut bien toutesfois s'engager à les faire demolir immediatement apres la Conclusion de la paix à condition qu'il luy sera donné pour les Fortifications de cette place un Equivalent convenable et dont elle soit contente; Et comme l'Angleterre ne peut fournir le dit equivalent la discussion en sera remise aux Conferences qui se tiendront pour la Negotiation de la paix.

Septiemement

Lorsque les Conferences pour la Negociation de la paix seront formées, on y discutera de bonne foy et à l'amiable toutes les pretensions des Princes et Etats engagés dans la presente Guerre, et rien ne sera obmis pour les regler et pour les terminer à la satisfaction de toutes les parties.

En vertu du plein pouvoir du Roy nous soussigné Chevalier de Son Ordre de St. Michel, Deputé au Conseil de Commerce avons arreté au nom de Sa Majesté les presents Articles preliminaires; En foy de quoy nous avons signé. Fait à Londres le vingt septieme Septembre vieux Stile, et du nouveau le huitieme Octobre mil sept cents onze.

MESNAGER.

It is enough to put these official papers by the side of Swift's text to prove that he had used them. Nevertheless I confess it gave me particular satisfaction to discover, as I turned over these papers, marks that he had left upon them which provide a further unmistakable proof that he had had them in his hands, and had sorted them for his purposes. For in this same volume of papers there is a warrant for St. John to sign these

preliminary articles, dated Sept. 25, 1711. This document is numbered 16, and Swift has endorsed it clearly in his own handwriting: 'Duplicate of 17'.

IV

The Instructions delivered to the Earl of Strafford, who went back to Holland with the Preliminaries at the beginning of October 1711 (see above, pp. 52 ff.), were taken from the following document, which was dated October 1, 1711, and endorsed at the end:

> Given at our Court at Windsor this first day of October in the Year 1711, & of our Reign the tenth.
>
> A. R.

This seems to be an original draft with corrections, which Swift follows very closely, adding nothing but occasionally omitting some phrases or passages.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR

OUR RT. TRUSTY & RT. WELBELOVED COUSIN & COUNCELLOR THOMAS EARL OF STRAFFORD OUR AMB^{R} EXTRA^{RY} AND PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE STATES GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF THE LOW COUNTRYS.

Signed Oct. 1st, 1711

Upon y^{r} arrival in Holland (whither you are to repair with all possible diligence) You shall take y^{e} first opportunity of conferring with y^{e} Pensionary, & of informing him y^{t} We have sent you back, as soon as some matters of y^{e} greatest moment were ripe, & fit to be lay'd before our good friends & Allys y^{e} States General.

You are to represent to this Minister, & to such others as shall be appointed to confer with you, y^{t} when we receiv'd in y^{e} month of May last, by y^{r} dispatches to us, an account of y^{e} Sence which those among them who were att y^{e} time in y^{e} Secret, had of y^{e} overtures made by France for Setting a General negociation of Peace again on foot, & of y^{e} answer which it was desir'd might be return'd to y^{e} propositions

signed by Mons^r de Torcy we did immediately acquaint y^e Enemy y^t their offers were thought by us & by y^e States General neither particular nor full enough, & therefore we did insist y^t they shou'd form a distinct project of such a Peace as they were willing to conclude.

You are further to inform y^e Dutch Ministers y^t this affair being transacted by papers sent backward & forward, and much time being lost in this dilatory method, We did att last think fit to send to y^e Court of France, in order to have from thence some more certain account of y^e dispositions towards Peace, & of y^e terms on which they might be willing to make it.

That y^e French did here upon Send over a Person with Powers to treat, & to settle some preliminary articles to a General Negociation. But y^t this person being neither fully instructed, nor sufficiently impower'd, a still further delay was created, & it became absolutely necessary to allow him to Send to his Court for more ample instructions. We being determin'd on our part, according to y^e desire of y^e Pensionary, & of y^e other Ministers to leave nothing undone which might bring y^e French to be more direct & particular in their overtures.

You are to communicate to y^e Pensionary & to y^e Ministers you confer with y^e paper herewith deliver'd to You, signed by Monsieur Mesnager an old acquaintance of theirs & one with whom they have formerly treated, representing to them y^t, thô y^e Several articles do not contain such particular concessions as France must, & to be sure will make, yet they are in our opinion a Sufficient foundation whereupon to open y^e Conferences.

That we were unwilling to take upon our Selves to determine y^e Several interests of Our Allys, & did therefore resolve to content our Selves with such general offers as might include all y^e particular demands proper to be made in y^e Course of y^e Negociation; During which it must be y^e most carefull endeavour, & y^e fix'd principle of all y^e Confederates to hold fast together, in order to obtain from y^e enemy y^e utmost which can be hop'd for in y^e present circumstances of affairs. And this rule you may assure them y^t we shall on our part firmly adhere to.

If upon this or upon any other occasion ye Ministers of Holland shall express their uneasiness least we should have settl'd ye interests of these our Kingdoms in a future Peace, by any private agreement, You are to say yt we have refus'd to suffer ye Treaty to be carry[ed] on in our own Country, & yt we shall still continue to do so unless they constrain us to take another measure. That by this means ye Dutch & all Our Allys will have ye opportunity & ye conveniency of treating & adjusting their different pretensions in promoting of which we shall exert all yt zeal for ye Common good, & for their particular advantage, which we are sure they do us ye Justice to confess yt we have shown thrô ye whole course of our Reign.

You will farther Say yt you can take upon yr Self to assure them yt we have made no stipulation for our Selves which may clash with ye interest of Holland. That those articles which we expect should be inserted in ye future Treaty of Peace for ye particular interest of Great Brittain, are for ye most part such as contain advantages which must either continue to ye Enemy or be obtained by us. And also yt no concessions whatsoever can tempt us to embrace ye blessing of Peace unless our good friends & Allys ye States General have all reasonable satisfaction as to their Barrier, as to their trade, & in all other respects.

These assurances being given in our name, You are to insinuate strongly to ye Ministers of Holland how Just reason we should have to be offended, & to look on ye proceeding between them & us as very unequal, if they shou'd pretend to have any further uneasiness upon this head. And We being determin'd to accept of no advantages to our Selves repugnant to their interests, nor of any Peace which may not be to their reasonable Satisfaction, that ye figure which we have made thrô ye whole course of this war, & ye part which we have acted in it, Superior to what any of ye Allys, even those who are nearest to ye danger, & in interest most deeply concern'd have done, might Justly entitle us if we should so think fit in ye first place to adjust & settle ye particular concerns of Great Brittain before we shou'd consent to Sett ye General negociation on foot.

If those engagements which we are under by our Treatys of making no Peace but in concert with them, or ye obligations of ye Barrier Treaty are objected to You, You are to Say, As to ye first, yt we have not in any sort acted contrary thereto. That we are so far from making a Peace without their concurrence, yt we have declar'd our firm resolution not to make it without their Satisfaction & yt all which has pass'd between France & us amounts to No more yn an introduction to a General negociation. As to ye latter you will represent very earnestly to them how much it is for ye interest even of Holland it self rather to compound ye advantages of ye Barrier Treaty yn to insist upon ye whole, since it is notorious yt ye House of Austria & several others of ye Allys are & must necessarily continue utterly averse to it; & since you may yr Self assure them upon ye observation which you have made during Yr Stay here, yt nothing can be more odious to ye people of these Kingdoms yn many parts of this Treaty, & yt nothing has prevented ye National & universal indignation which wou'd have broke out upon this occasion but ye great care & industry which has been us'd to calm ye minds of those who are acquainted with ye terms of this Guaranty, & to keep the same as secret as possible from those who are not yet appriz'd of them. You will expostulate further with ye Ministers of Holland by shewing ye absolute necessity of entertaining a good harmony between ye two Nations, upon which not only their mutual safety in great measure depends, but without which there can att no time be form'd a strength sufficient to reduce any exorbitant power, and to preserve the ballance of Europe, and upon this foundation you will argue that it is ye true interest of neither Country to insist on any conditions which may give just apprehensions to the other.

You are to acquaint them that France proposes Utrecht, Nimighen, Aix la Chapelle, and Leige as places in any one of which the Conferences may with conveniency be held, that We have refus'd to let the general Treaty be carried on in our own Country, and yt we are ready to send our plenipotentiarys to Such of these four towns as may be most agreable to them.

You are to conclude yr Conference by desiring that they will give all possible dispatch to the Choice of a Place of Treaty, and that the passports for the French Plenipotentiarys may be hastened. It being in our opinion of importance so to forward ye progress of this great affair that on one hand we may not be expos'd to begin too late the preparations for the next Campagne, nor on ye other to put ourselves to an expence which in case the general Treaty proceeds will be unnecessary.

And whereas not only ye Dutch but the Imperial and other Ministers, may perhaps deny the paper herewith deliver'd to you to be a sufficient ground for opening ye Conferences upon, and may insist that France should consent to preliminary articles of ye nature of those form'd and on the part of ye Allys sign'd in 1709, you are in the first place, besides what is in these yr Instructions before directed, to insinuate that the French might very probably have been brought to explain themselves further, had they not perceiv'd the extraordinary uneasiness, impatience, and Jealousy, which during their transactions with us discover'd themselves amongst our allys. You are afterwards in our name to declare to them, that if they are desirous to carry on the war, and determin'd to accept of no terms of Peace inferior to those which have been formerly demanded, We are on our part ready to concur with them, and to continue to sacrifice the blood and treasure of our subjects, as we have hitherto done, for their greater advantage and security. But that we are in justice bound neither to deceive ourselves nor them, and do therefore by you our Ambassader & plenipotentiary solemnly declare that we can no longer bear that disproportionate burden wch has every year been encreased upon us, nor that deficiency which our Allys in every part of ye war are guilty of. That it is evident yt ye common effort must be still greater against ye Enemy than it is, or yt there will remain no prospect of arriving att those ends which are propos'd, that therefore it is incumbent on them, if ye War be continued, to furnish for the future such quotas of ships and forces as they are att this time wanting in, and to encrease their expence whilst we reduce ours to such a

proportion as in reason and in justice both should be settled att. If on the part of the Ministers of Vienna and of Holland their inability to do more than they have hitherto done be urg'd in answer to you, our pleasure is that you finish by saying that we think we may justly insist that they should comply w^th^ us in War or in Peace, since in the former Case we require nothing but what it belongs to them to perform, and what is essential to the success of our Arms, and since in y^e^ latter we have done and shall to y^e^ last continue to do all that is in our power towards obtaining such a Peace as may be to y^e^ satisfaction of all our Allys.

V

The Report of the Lords of the Council's communication to Monsieur Buys (see above, p. 56) is taken from the memorandum given him in writing and signed by Henry St. John on October 6, 1711, which is now included in S.P. 84, vol. 242, pp. 19–21:

Whitehall, October 6th, 1711

Sr.

I have the honour to send You her Maj^tys^ Answer, which was this morning communicated to You by my Lords of the Councill, and which You desired in writing. I have chosen to write in English, for fear of committing any mistake in a matter of so great importance.

First

Her Maj^ty^ Commanded My Lords to assure You in her Name that she still preserves the same affection for the States Generall, and the same friendly concern for their Interest, which she has endeavoured to make appear upon all occasions through the whole Course of her Reign.

That she desires most earnestly to have the same good understanding subsist between the two Nations after a Peace, which has been so happily continued during the Warr. That her Maj^ty^ has often shown her inclination to enter into a

new and strict engagement to this purpose, and that the Earl of Strafford is instructed to treat with the Ministers in Holland concerning such an Alliance.

Secondly

The Queen commanded my Lords to let You know, that the experience which she has had of proceeding by particular Preliminarys towards a General Treaty, gives her no encouragement to pursue the same method.

That if a Preliminary Treaty is to be made, It must either be negociated by some particular Allyes, or by all. That her Majty can never submit to the first, since she will neither take upon her to settle the Interests of others, nor suffer that others should settle those of her Kingdoms. And that as to the Second, Your own Objection takes place since it is certain that the Ministers of France will have as fair an Opportunity to sow division amongst the Allyes, when they are all Assembled upon a Preliminary Treaty, as when the Conferences are opened for a Negociation of Peace.

My Lords did further acquaint You upon this head by her Majtys Orders, that if You desired to have the General Offers of France rendered more specifick, and then to debate whether it was proper to hazard the Negociation, the Queen continues still to be of opinion, for the reasons which were urged in the Conference on Wednesday last, that this method can have no other effect than to delay the Treaty, without making those Advantages which we hope for, and have reason to expect, more certain, or more easy to be obtained. That her Majty is ready and heartily disposed even now, as well as during ye Negociation, to insist on everything which may be necessary for the Security of the Barriere, and Commerce of her good Friends and Allyes the States Generall, and that she therefore hopes that no further difficultys will be raised, but that We may proceed to open the Conference.

Thirdly

My Lords acquainted You in the Queen's Name that her Majty not only consents, but desires that a concert be made

for carrying on the Warrs for the next Campagne, and will be ready to do it so soon as a Negociation for a Peace shall be set on foot, and will expect in that case, that the burden of the Warr be laid more equally, and more agreably to the Treatys than hitherto it has been. That her Majᵗʸ has given a very fresh instance of her desire to prosecute the Warr with all imaginable vigour, and that she will joyn with the States in pressing the Allyes to perform their parts as she has endeavoured to animate them by her Example.

This Sʳ is the substance of her Majᵗʸˢ Answer to Your Representations, which I shall give communication of by Express to the Earl of Strafford, that the least time possible may be lost in forwarding a work so necessary and which her Majᵗʸ hopes in its conclusion will prove so satisfactory to the whole Allyance.

I have nothing to add but to ask Your Pardon for sending this Letter to You so late & to assure You that I am with much respect & truth

Sʳ Yʳ most humble & obedᵗ Serᵗ

H. St. John.

VI

In the last part of Book II (see above, pp. 61–63) Swift was concerned with the discussions which took place between the Ministers and M. Buys at the end of November and the beginning of December 1711. The material for this he found in the following letters from Henry St. John to the Earl of Strafford.

(*a*) Dated Whitehall, November 23, 1711 (S.P. 84, vol. 241, pp. 214–15):

. . .The last point which was this morning in debate, Mr. Buys started; and tho' he did not say he had instructions to insist upon it, before he delivered the passports, yet he did not deny it when the question was put to him.

[*The Ministers of Spain, Bavaria, and Cologne not to come to the Congress.*]

This proposition was that France should be acquainted the

Queen & States insist that ye Ministers of the Duke of Anjou, & of ye cydevant Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, shall not come into the Congress untili those points which may relate to them are adjusted, and yt further the Queen and the States are firmly resolved not to send passports for the Ministers of France unless the French King do previently declare that ye exclusion of ye beforemention'd Ministers shall occasion no delay to ye progress of the Treaty.

This Minute has been taken ad referendum and will be lay'd before the Queen to-morrow, I shall not fail to acquaint yr Excellency by ye mail of Tuesday with her Majestys determination upon it. In the mean time there can be no dispute but that these Ministers must not be receiv'd untill what relates to their Masters is settled in ye Congress, and the only difficulty seems to be in point of time whether the passports should not be sent to France, and this declaration accompany them.

Before I conclude I would offer it to your Excellency to turn your thoughts how you are to lay down yr character of Ambassadour att Utrecht, whilst you act as plenipotentiary in the Treaty of peace. I have a confus'd notion that there are presidents of this kind, if ye particulars occur to me, I will communicate them to you.

I am my Lord with much respect
Yr Excellency's
most faithful humble Servant
H. St. John.

I have recd yr letter by Major Cecil, & shall be glad to have it in my power to serve so honest a Man.

(*b*) Dated December 4, 1711 (vol. 241, pp. 228–34).

Whitehall 4th Decr. 1711

My Lord

[*Conference with Mor Buys.*]

After having considered on friday among themselves in what manner and method to proceed with Mor Buys the Lords of the Councill met him on Saturday morning at another Conference; where it fell to my Share to tell him, that since the end proposed by these meetings and debates was to come

to a right understanding of each others Intentions, to settle the principal points of the future Negotiation of Peace, and to prevent by a previous Concert between the Queen and the States any difference which might arise in the Course of the Treaty, it was to be wished that his Instructions had been more particular, and his Powers more ample, that we might then have treated with him in the Queen's name, & have finally concluded several points, which ought to be decided between us before we come to the Congress. But however in order to do all that is possible to so good a purpose on our part, that my Lords of the Councill had given me directions to acquaint him with some of the Reflections which they have made, and with some of the Opinions which they are come to, when they have had amongst themselves the great affair of Peace under consideration.

[*The Barrier.*]

After this Introduction Mo^r^ Buys was told, that thô the Pretence of obtaining a Barrier for the States General be only their greater Security against France, yet my Lords observed that by the Treaty between her Ma^ty^ and his Masters, as it now stands, infinite prejudice may arise to the Trade of Great Britain in the Spanish Netherlands. By the 15th Article of this Treaty, in consequence of what is stipulated in the Treaty of Munster Art. the 14th, her Ma^ty^ ingages that Commerce shall not be rendered directly or indirectly more easy by the Sea Ports of Flanders, than by the River of Schelde & by the Canals on the side of the seven Provinces. My Lords took notice that here was a very great and a very unfair omission, since althô when the Treaty of Munster was made in which by the way Brittain had little or no share, and as long as the neighbouring Countrys are in the possession of Spain, France, or any third Power, this Article was & will be equal and reasonable, yet the case becomes widely altered, when considerable parts of these Provinces are to be put into the hands of the Dutch. The question was illustrated by this instance. A British Merchant imports by Ostend, & a Dutch Merchant by the Schelde two pieces of Cloth of the same value, & payin[g] the same duty. They carry afterwards this Cloth to

Lisle, which is in the hands of the French, and there again they pay such a Duty as by the Tariffs of France is established. In all this there is no partiality whatsoever: and thus farr and no further would the Treaty of Munster affect our Commerce. But when Lisle shall belong to the States General, as by the Barrier Treaty it is to do, then may the Dutch Merchant, who imported his Cloth by the Schelde, enter the same perhaps Custome free at this Town, whilst a high Duty, or even a prohibition may be laid upon that Cloth which the British Merchant imported by Ostend. Upon these Considerations and many more, which were urged, my Lords told Mr Buys very frankly their opinion was, that if the States expected the Queen should in good earnest & with vigour support the Treaty of Barrier, and their demands both of France and of the House of Austria upon that head, they ought to enter into a previous and formal Engagement, that the Subjects of Great Britain shall trade on as free & advantagious a foot to all the Countrys and places, which shall become by virtue of any former, or any future Treaty the Barrier of the States General, as they did in the time of the late King of Spain Charles the Second, or as the Subjects of the States General themselves shall do. The omission of this was certainly a very great defect in the Treaty made by my Lord Townshend; and it was represented to Mr Buys that we hop'd that the States would never scruple rectifying a mistake so injurious to that Nation, without the blood and treasure of which they could have had no Barrier at all.

Upon this Mr Buys attempted to say a good deal by way of compliment and extenuation, but being unable to answer the reasons that were urged he at last acquiesced, and said that on the hints which had been given him before he had already writ for Instructions by which to govern himself in this case. [*Commerce with France.*]

We proceeded next to the Article of Commerce, and my Lords agreed with the Envoy that it was reasonable her Maty. should insist upon, & endeavour to obtain for the States what is stipulated in their favour by the Treaty of Ryswick, the Tariff of 1664, the Suppression of all posterior Tariffs, and

Edicts repugnant thereunto, and the exemption of fifty pence per Tun, the whole to be so settled as not to be exclusive of Brittain.

[*The Barrier.*]

Our discourse concerning the Barrier was divided into three parts. As to those places which were demanded of France by the 22nd Art. of the Preliminarys, and which were yielded in the Project sent by Monr. de Torcy in January 1710, and as to those of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, Aire and Bouchain, which have been since that time conquered, my Lords made no difficulty to agree with Monr. Buys that they ought to be insisted upon, but there was some dispute on the last point relating to this Article. My Lords thought the Queen might agree to concurr with the States in obtaining for them the Jus præsidii in those places, which did belong to the late King of Spain Charles the Second at the time of his death, provided such of them were excepted as would render the Trade of Brittain to the Spanish Low Countrys precarious, and even put it into the power of the States whenever they thought fit to shut that door upon us. Mor Buys asserting that there was no colour for this exception, affecting to fear that under this pretence we might, to use his own expression, raffler tout le reste, and insisting that some particular instance should be produced, Newport was named to him directly, and the Castle of Gand and Dendermonde touched upon. The substance of what he said was this, that he hoped the Queen would not from imaginary fears expose the States to a real danger; that we were under a panick terror; that in settling the Barrier a Security against France had been the sole view, and that they had never had the least thought in Holland of improving their own Commerce, or of prejudicing ours thereby; that it were to be wished that Ostend had been included in their Barrier, but that since the tide of this Nation run strongly against it, they had contented themselves with Newport that France might attack them hereafter by Sea, and therefore that the last named place was necessary for their defence; that they could not support their Barrier unless their communication with it was secured to them; and that in this

respect also the places which my Lords seem'd to object to were absolutely necessary; that they had already in the Elector of Bavaria had one fatal instance what mischief the treachery of a governour in the Spanish Low Countrys may bring upon them; and therefore that he thought the safety of Holland & of Brittain too required that all these places should be given up to the Dutch without any exception. The reply to this reasoning was, that we could not look upon these fears to be imaginary, because some things had passed already w^ch^ pointed towards that evil which we apprehend; and that if even now they cannot for bear making use of the Barrier, which they are in possession of to infest our Commerce, we have reason to expect much worse whenever they shall be in the quiet possession of it; that this might prove an eternal Ball of dissension between two Nations, whose happiness depends upon their Union, and was therefore by early, moderate, and prudent measures to be provided against; that it was true the tide of the Nation had run against putting Ostend into the hands of the Dutch; that whenever the present case came to be known, the same tide would for the same reason, run against the other places mentioned, and that our people would look upon themselves to have been lulled asleep, and imposed upon by the cession of Ostend, and the retention of what may be equally prejudicial to them; that the panick terror which he objected to us might much more justly be retorted on him, since his Arguments were built on such Suppositions as could hardly be made in earnest; that these arguments likewise proved too much, which was as great a fault as proving too little, for that by the same Rule Ostend & Antwerp ought to be given to them to prevent an Invasion of France, and all the rest of the Spanish Low Countrys to prevent other Governours from doing what the Elector of Bavaria once did; that when we came to press the Emperor to make good the Treaty of Barrier to them, we should have a very ill grace in making use of a Supposition that the persons, to whose Government under him these Countrys & Towns are to be trusted, will prove a pack of Traitors; that in short Mr Buys would be in the right if the Sovereignty of the Spanish

Low Countrys was to be yielded to an Enemy, but that his Arguments are of no force when it is to be given to a friend. Upon the whole matter we at last centred in this Proposition that the States ought to have whatever is really essential to the Security of their Barrier against France, but no more; and that some amicable Expedient should be found for removing our fears, and for setling the Interest of Britain upon this last head.

[*Valenciennes.*]

Valenciennes, which is mentioned in the Barrier Treaty, but specifyed neither in the Preliminary Articles, nor in the project of 1710, was taken notice of, and agreed to be insisted on like the rest.

When the Conference had proceeded thus farr, Mo^r^ Buys, was told that thô the Queen, my Lords made no doubt, would insist upon all these points in behalf of her Allys the States, yet they believed her Ma^ty^ looked upon his Masters, to be too reasonable to break off the Treaty rather than not obtain the utmost of their demands; that it was impossible the Ultimatum from whence there could be no receding should be setled here, unless he was instructed to speak upon that subject; that sooner or later that point ought to be concerted, and that whenever it was, he might depend on the Queen showing as much firmness as the States themselves could desire; that we understood her Ma^tys^ opinion to be that the best way of securing the common Interest in the future Treaty, and of preventing that danger which M^r^ Buys has so frequently represented, the division of the Allys by the Artifices of the French in the course of a long Negotiation, was to concert between the Queen's Ministers and those of the States, with a due regard and decency to the other Confederates, such a plan, as might amount to a safe and honourable Peace, in which case, as soon as it appears proper, the French plenipotentiary, who is in the whole Secret of his Court, might be told that it would be vain to amuse each other any longer, that on such terms the peace would be immediately concluded, and that the Conferences must cease if they were not without delay & without exception granted.

[*D. of Savoy.*]

After this we proceeded to speak of the interests of ye Duke of Savoy, of ye King of Portugal, of ye Elector of Hanover and of ye Barrier of ye Empire, in all which there was no dispute concerning what ye Queen & States ought joyntly to insist upon.

And now my Lord I think we have gone further with the Minister of ye States than could have been expected from us, since he was only empower'd to hear and not to speak.

I must not conclude this relation without observing to you that Mr Buys did in recapitulating what had pass'd, more than once, altho' he was interrupted, and set right, repeat sans quoy la Reine ne fera point la paix. We us'd this expression la Reine insistera dessus, & whenever they please we are ready to use ye other.

[*Treaty of New Alliance neglected by Mr Buys.*]

Mr Buys has not said the least syllable about ye plan of a Treaty concerted here & put into his hands. Two separate articles to that allyance might perhaps adjust all our difference about the Barrier.

My letter is already grown to an immeasurable size, for which reason I will say nothing to your Excellencys upon other heads of business, but conclude by subscribing myself my Lord yr Excellencys

obedient & most
Humble Servant
H. St. John.

VII

The account of the negotiations is resumed in Book IV. In reporting the developments a year later (see above, pp. 155 ff.), when the Earl of Strafford had returned to Holland after his visit to England in the summer to report on the disposition of affairs, Swift used the copy of the Instructions for the Lord Privy Seal and the Earl of Strafford, the plenipotentiaries for the

treaty of a General Peace (S.P. 84, vol. 245 (2), pp. 1–5), which is endorsed:

Given at Our Castle at Windsor the Eleventh day of November 1712 In the Eleventh Year of Our Reign.

A. R.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD OUR RIGHT TRUSTY & WELBELOVED COUNCILLOR JOHN LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL KEEPER OF OUR PRIVY SEAL, AND OUR RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELBELOVED COUSIN & COUNCILLOR THOMAS EARL OF STRAFFORD OUR AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY & PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE STATES GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF THE LOW COUNTRYS, OUR PLENIPOTENTIARYS FOR THE TREATY OF A GENERAL PEACE.

As soon as You Thomas Earl of Strafford shall be returned into Holland, whither You are to repair with all possible diligence; You are in Our Name to let the Ministers of the States General know, that the Overture made by them for entring into the Measures of Peace, contains one point, which as they have been already informed, We are under Ingagements contrary to, and some others which will at present meet with difficultys perhaps insuperable, however easily they might once have been obtained, at least they will occasion greater delay than We can for many reasons in the present circumstances of affairs admit. You will represent to these Ministers in plain but friendly terms how many evil consequences have flowed from their Irresolution, and you will earnestly intreat them to fix in some proposition reasonable in itself, and even at this time of day possible to be obtained.

Having in Our Name made this General Answer to what has been lately communicated to Us in the name of the States, You are in your own Name to say that you can give them particular and certain assurances that We shall insist upon and obtain the Cession of Tournay by France in order to fortify their Barrier with the addition of so important a Place. But You will add that as You know this to be at present Our firm intention, so You likewise think your self obliged to

inform them that our Conduct will entirely depend on theirs; and that if We make so considerable a step in favour of them, We shall expect on their parts an immediate and absolute concurrence with Us in concluding the Peace without starting any new objections, or making any further Demands.

Thus much You may venture to advance upon your knowledge of Our Councils, and Designs, adding that when they shall have declared themselves authentically and satisfactorily upon the Conditions which We expect from them, We shall be ready publickly and in open Congress to declare the yeilding up of Tournay by France to be a Condition sine quâ non.

It will be necessary at the same time that you should acquaint the Ministers of the State with the pressing instances made by his Most Christian Majesty in favour of his Ally the Elector of Bavaria, and you will let them know that the least which this Prince intends to demand for the said Elector, is that he continue in the possession of Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroy subject to the terms of their Barrier, till such time as he shall be restored to the Electorate of Bavaria, exclusive of the Upper Palatinate, and placed in Rank & Dignity of kind, & last Elector. Besides which it will be further proposed that the Kingdom of Sardinia may be given to him, and that in this manner the Title of King may efface and wipe out the stain of his degradation in the Electoral College.

When you shall have made these Communications to the States you will add that We think them points of such a nature, as may very well be agreed to, and thereby not only the possession of Tournay, but the Conclusion of the Peace be rendred secure.

As soon as You perceive these Assurances from Us, and Communications from your self to have made their due impression, You are further to represent in Our Name how desirous We are not only to restore but maintain a perfect Union between Us and them, to which end We think & firmly hope they will be of the same opinion, that it is indispensably necessary without any further loss of time to remove whatever may appear to have been gained by them either

immediately grievous or remotely dangerous to the Interests of Our Kingdoms. You will upon this occasion inform them that You have brought with you a Project of a New Treaty of Succession & Barrier, and that You are ordered to insist on their signing the same before the Conclusion of the Peace. After this You Our Keeper of Our Privy Seal and Thomas Earl of Strafford are to proceed to the Examination of the particular Articles of this Project, and to shew the Dutch Ministers that several things are left even in this Draught, such is Our desire of pleasing them and living in the strictest Unity with them, which are looked upon here as disadvantagious to Our Subjects, and which are certainly neither warranted by the letter nor intention of the Grand Allyance, nor agreable to any Principle upon which the present Confederacy was formed, and the present Warr begun. You will further show them that the Alterations, Additions, and Omissions which are made are only such as are necessary to rectify mistakes, and explain things doubtfull in the former Treaty; to adjust certain Conditions referred by that Treaty to a subsequent Convention, which Convention was never made; and lastly to cure those hardships which have been already actually brought on the British Commerce, and those farr greater Evils, which there is but too just reason to apprehend. You will conclude by shewing these Ministers that the mutual Guarantys of y^e^ Succession and Barrier thus explained & amended will not only prove an additional Security to both Nations, and be executed cordially, if at any time hereafter the Cases should exist, but must likewise unite them more closely than ever in friendship & affection. Whereas on the other hand they can at best expect but a lame execution of a Treaty, which the sense of the Nation has declared both dishonourable and disadvantagious, and the insisting to keep Us under obligations of this kind can have no other effect than to nourish Jealousy and ill Will, which may one time or other break out into open Rupture.

You will close all your Representations to the Ministers of the States, by this solemn declaration, That We have

notwithstanding all provocations to the contrary, for their Sakes, and in hopes of their recovery from those mistaken notions which have misled them hitherto kept the Negotiations open. That We have now delayed long enough, longer than perhaps in reason or in good policy We ought to have done; That the offers made to them by You our Plenipotentiarys, are Our ultimate, and this the last time We shall apply to them, That they must either agree without further Negociation, or expect that We proceed as it is Our firm and unalterable resolution to do, immediately to conclude Our Treaty of Peace with France & Spain in conjunction with such of the Allys as may think fit to adhere to Us.

You are to take the first opportunity of letting the Ministers of the States know that We think Our selves obliged not only in good policy, but in consideration of the great Services which the Duke of Savoy has done; and of the great sacrifices which he has made, as well as of his firm adherence to the Common Cause, to provide not only for his Security, but his aggrandisement in the ensuing Treaty; You will apprize them of what has been done to this purpose; and You will acquaint them with those further measures necessary to be taken, which are contained in the Memoires presented by his Minister the Sieur de Mallarede; Copys whereof are together with these Our Instructions delivered to You. You will insist that the States do concur with Us in the General Scheme relating to the Duke of Savoy, and You will particularly demand of them that they joyn with You in the instances which by the following article You are directed to make for the Neutrality of Italy. Shewing these Ministers how certain it is that the Emperor will endeavour at least to take from His Royal Highness those Towns and Places which have been yeilded to him by virtue of the Treaty of 1703; how easily this Design may succeed now that part of his Royal Highness's Dominions is intirely open; how fair an opportunity the return of the Imperial Troops from Spain will afford for the execution of such projects; how necessarily We must be involved, and they too, if they come into our measures in this quarrell; and therefore

how much our Common Interest is concerned in taking early and effective care to prevent it.

You have herewith put into your hands the Copy of the Answer given by our order to the Imperial Resident, wherein You will observe that We render Our offer of contributing to the Transport of the Empress and German Forces out of Catalonia, and of securing their quiet continuance there till this Transport can be made. But that We purpose at the same time that the Emperor consent to cure the apprehensions and calm the minds of the several Princes & States of Italy by agreeing to the Neutrality thereof. You therefore are in pursuance of this Overture to call on the Ministers of the States Genl. to joyn with you, and together with them, or in case of their refusal, singly by your selves to ask, a Conference of the Imperial Ministers. At this Conference You are to represent that We have contributed so much to the restoring the Tranquillity of Italy, and are so much concerned in maintaining the same, that We think Our selves obliged to prevent as farr as in Us lyes any accident which might disturb the same, or even to cure those Jealousys and fears which several Princes and States have entertained, and to awaken which there has in Our Opinion been but too much reason given. On these considerations We cannot doubt of his Imperial Majestys agreeing to the Demand We make that an absolute Neutrality be establish'd and observed in Italy till the Conclusion of the General Peace; and to this purpose that the Impl. Forces now in Spain, as well as those which are now in Italy, shall go into Germany, and continue there during the term aforesaid, except such as are necessary for Garrisoning the Towns and Fortresses belonging to his Imperial Majesty. You will shew the Imperial Ministers that if the Emperor has no design to attack any of the Princes or States of Italy, what is here demanded can be no ways inconvenient to him; that if he has any such design We are obliged to insist upon this Demand in order to prevent it. That if the Emperor shall think fit to conclude his Peace with France & Spain at the same time as We do, the Neutrality of Italy is of course included & absorbed in the General Peace; and that if he shall think fit

still to prosecute the War, this Neutrality can be of no prejudice to his Military operations; on the contrary what We now demand becomes in this case necessary for him to do, and as it is impossible to attack France on the side of Italy, it will be for his service to draw all his Forces to another part where nothing will interpose between him and his Enemy. You will conclude by letting these Ministers know that unless the Emperor consent without loss of time to this Neutrality We cannot transport or suffer to be transported the Imperial Troops from Catalonia.

If these Ministers enter into Treaty upon this Proposition You will take care particularly to concert with those of his Royal Highness upon every occasion as also with those of the other Princes & States of Italy, when You find it necessary or expedient.

Along with these Our Instructions You will receive several papers relating as well to Expedients for reconciling the difference between Us and France on the Article of North America, as to several points in the Treaty of Commerce which We desire should be otherwise adjusted than the French have yet shewn an inclination to agree them. These You will manage to the best advantage for Our Service, and We cannot persuade Our selves that when the Conclusion of the Treaty shall appear to depend on such concessions as these, You will find the Plenipotentiarys of France inflexible.

Note. As some of these points are marked off as indicated above with a pen-stroke in the margin, it is tempting to speculate that Swift's pen was at work, picking out of the diplomatic verbiage the essentials for his purpose.

But at least we can be sure of the mark that he set in the margin of the very draft of the Treaty, in the clause concerning the succession, in which he corrects the copyist's error, who had written *parts*, where the sense requires *Parliament's*. The marginal correction, *Qu? Parlmts*, is undoubtedly in Swift's hand.

TEXTUAL NOTES

THE text of *The History &c.* is printed from a photostat of the Windsor MS., the original draft of which is written by amanuenses, with numerous corrections in Swift's hand. The corrections are all embodied in the text, and the corresponding readings of the original draft are indicated in the variants, marked (*a*). This text has also been collated with the first editions of 1758, printed in Dublin by Faulkner (F) and in London by Millar (M). Differences of spelling, capitalization and punctuation are noted only when they have particular significance. Facsimiles of the *t.p.*s of these editions are given at the beginning of this volume.

BOOK I

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
1	1	Written at Windsor in the Year 1713	(No title) *a* The History of the Last Session of Parliament and the Peace of Utrecht. Written at Windsor in the Year 1713. F The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen. M
	4–5	Peace Abroad	Peace *a*
	6	shall	will F
	8	Party-Faction	Party F, M; Faction *a*
	13	prodigiously grown	immensely spread *a*
	15	Although	Though *a*
	17	appeared to me	appeareth F; appears *a*
	18–20	make, and the best Opportunityes of being informed by those who were the principal Actors or Advisers. Neither	make. Neither *a*
2	1	Misled: Since	misled, since F, *a* misled; since M
	5	it; while	it; and *a*
	6	those who	those that M
	10–11	Persons, or initial Letters of Names	Persons, *a* persons, initial letters of names M
	12	although	though *a*
	16	And	And venturing one Step further *a*
	19–20	I shall venture one Step further, and represent	I shall represent *a*
	23	this Parliament	parliament M
	24	State	the State *a*
	30	same Party	ejected Party *a*
	4 *f.b.*	disposed to leave	disposed (as it was their Duty) to leave *a*
	3 *f.b.*	Wisdom, and that of her Council	Wisdom. *a* wisdom, and that of her own council M
	last l.	Session began	Session *a*

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
3	1	made to Her	made her *a*, M
	3	this great	that great *a*, M
		untill	till *a*
	4	upon: The	upon; the *a*, M
	12	providing a Parliamentary Fund to clear	clearing *a*
	21	Ministry, which	Ministry, who *a*
	22	against One	of One *a*
	23–24	was understood to be concerned	was concerned; and whom they found upon all Oc(casions) firm Friends to the Constitu-ti(on and) the Church. *a*
	28	chusing* One *Doctor Robinson, Ld Bishop of Bristol (London, F) to be Lord Privy Seal	Choice from One *a*
	31	dropped	drop't *a*
	3*f.b.*	some degree of Freedom in the Choice of her Ministers,	the free Choice of her own Servants, *a*
	2*f.b.*	except such	but such *a*
last l.		averse from. (*end of para.*) But	averse from: but M
4	5	Party, at this Juncture; We	party, we M
	9	out of	of *a*
	24	perhaps the Power	the Power naturally *a*
	25	Hands. (*Marginal note by Swift in MS.*: New Paragraph) The	
	28	very first	first F
	30	the whole	this *a*
	6*f.b.*	and the Consequences whereof (*also in* M)	and of the Consequences there-of, which F; and the Conse-quences thereof, which M, *Errata*
last l.		hath	has M
5	3	appear	seem *a*
	21	restored (N.B. roused *not deleted by Swift, but* restored *written very small in the margin.*)	roused *a*, F
	23	likewise	also M
	24	But	And *a*
	27	these	those M
	6*f.b.*	which are	(*deleted in Errata*, M)
	2*f.b.*	observeth	observes *a*
6	4	The second	The other Reason is *a*
	5	avoideth	avoids *a*
	6	converses	converseth F
	10	strives	striveth F
	11	hath	has M
	17	hath	has *a*
	20	hath	has *a*
	22	amuseth	amuses *a*

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
6	25	presideth	presides *a*
	26	although	though *a*
	27	if . . . had been	had . . . been *a*
	28	would not have	had not F
	29	assured and have heard him profess	assured *a*; assured and heard him profess M
	5*f.b.*	firmly	formerly *a*
7	5	Party	Faction *a*
	13	in some Manner Problematical	altogether Problematical *a* Problematical M
	18	a wise General	, a General *a*
	20	sometimes . . . might probably be	usually . . . might be *a*
	23	strong	general *a*
		untill	till *a*, M
	3*f.b.*	hath	has M
8	7	let slip	missed *a*, F
		Opportunity	Opportunity of Interest *a*
	–8	that fell in her way of improving it to her own Advantage.	that fell in her way. *a*
	10	Gallantry.	Gallantry, to which however She hath been thought not entirely a Stranger. *a*
	16	hath	has *a*
	27	Master, King James,	Master, *a*
	28	Obligations: For,	Obligations; for *a*, F, M
	30	untill	till *a*, M
	7*f.b.*	a Style	the style M
9	3	hath	has *a*
	10	*Nickname * Volpone	Nickname *a*
		delivered by Doctor	delivered at second hand *a*
	–11	Sacheverill with great Indiscretion	
	16	*Tutor * Dr. Trimnel, since Bp. of Winton	Tutor *a*
	18	Republican	Whiggish *a*
	21	Lord; (as he hath done to myself)	Lord. *a*
	25	at best of the middling	of the Lower *a*
	27	It is	'Tis *a*
	29	Lady	Person *a*
	30	hath	has *a*
10	1	stead: Excepting	stead; excepting *a*
	2	*Father's *The Earl his Father was a rigid Presbyterian	Father's
	3	firm	rigid F
	7	large	immense *a*
	10	Although	Though *a*

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
10	11	him: For	him; for *a*, M
	12	above	already *a*
	15	or Modesty are ashamed to appear	are cautious of appearing *a*
	18	produceth	produces *a*
	22	deserveth	deserves *a*
	25–26	Steps, which in late times hath been the constant Practice	Steps *a*
		little skilled	altogether unskilled *a*
	27	true Interests	Interests *a*
	–28	Princes, further than the municipal or Common Law of England to which he was bred	Princes, *a* further than the municipal or common law of England M
	29	Abilities, as to foreign Affairs	Abilities *a*
	30	Council	Cabinet *a*
	6*f.b.*	But	but *a*, M
		those	these F, M
11	2	makes	maketh F; made M (*Errata*)
	7	For, he had always lived	No man ever lived *a*
	16	State to K. William	State. *a*
	19	Stiffness	Stiffness, Pride *a*
		Nature	untractable Nature *a*
	20	Rigor and Severity	Cruelty *a*
	23	Knowledge	Smattering *a*
	24	very amply sufficient to defend his own Property at least.	which makes it not very safe or easy to deal with him, where Property is concerned. *a*
	26	Father, and	Father, grafted upon a wrong Understanding, and *a*
	27	few	other *a*
	30	values and pretends	valueth and pretendeth F
	31	preserveth	preserves *a*
		Ascendant	Ascendant, I suppose by the Right of Primogeniture. *a*
	4*f.b.*	Veracity	Honesty *a*
	2*f.b.*	till	untill F
last l.		that he	he *a*
12	15	Britain	Great-Britain F (this form is used throughout the Dublin edition)
	25	perhaps by	perhaps *a*
	26	And lastly by	and lastly *a*
	5*f.b.*	That such Proposals were received from France as	That Proposals were received from that Crown, such as *a*
last l.		*Bishop of Bristol	Bishop of Bristol *a*
		*Doctor Robinson, afterwards Bishop of London	
13	13	Duke of Somerset F	Duke of Sommerset *a*
			Duke of S—— (*deleted in* MS.)
			Duke of ——— M
	17	some	several *a*
	20	King Wm.	the King *a*; King William F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
13	28	good Behaviour	Behaviour F
	29	**Junta* *A Cant name given to five Lords of that Party	*Juncto* F, M
	31	Failure of	Failure in F
14	1	His haughty Nature	the Pride of his Nature *a*
	5–7	He appointed severall meetings with Mr. Harley alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least lyable to Suspicion. He employed all his Credit with the Queen	He employed his utmost Credit *a*
	9	Council	Cabinet *a*
	11	or Disdain	and Disdain *a*
	18	very humble	the meanest *a*
	26	Cabinet Council	Cabinet *a*
	27	there	at the latter *a*
	28	Proceedings	Proceedings there. *a*
	29	Cabinet Council	Cabinet *a*
	31	Place;	Place, *a*, M
	4*f.b.*	which	who *a*
	2*f.b.*	Council	Cabinet *a*
15	29	*Nottingham*	Nottingham, already mentioned M
16	4	other Party	Whiggs *a*
	8	that the	the *a*
	12	first designed	designed F
	16	Cabinet Council	Cabinet *a*
	22	discontented	factious *a*
	23	*Roxborough*	R –xb –r–gh *a*
	24	down to	to M
	7*f.b.*	Low Church	Whig *a*
	6*f.b.*	Religion	Church *a*
	5*f.b.*	to	of *a*
	4*f.b.*	Concern for	Regard to *a*
17	6–9	I remember to have then told My Lord Harcourt and Mr. Prior, that a Majority of ten was onely a Majority of five, because if their Adversarys could bring off five, the Number would be equall; And so it happened to prove. For	But *a*
	8*f.b.*	by not above two voices F, M	by *a* by voices S
18	2	that any	any *a*
	6	although	though *a*
	7–10	Opposition, but was swallowed by those very Lords, who had always appeared with the ut-	Opposition. *a*

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
		most Violence against the least Advantage to the Established Church.	
18	12	one Mr. Robert Walpole	Mr. Walpole *a*
	19	distinguishingly	distinguishedly M
	30	the Overthrow of	overthrow F, M
	2*f.b.*	were	was F, M
19	7	Party	Faction *a*
	20	Buys, the Dutch Envoy	Buys *a*
	6*f.b.*	to the Leaders of the opposite Party	to the Junta *a*

Note: The paragraph beginning 'I have good Reasons to be' running from the bottom of p. 19 to the top of p. 20 is marked by three successive crosses filling the blank spaces of the margin; but the passage itself is not deleted. There is also this one correction written in the margin in Swift's hand.

It seems probable that Swift or one of his friends had marked the passage for consideration, as possibly too dangerous; but if Swift had decided to omit it altogether he would have revised the first sentence of the following paragraph, which refers to the 'motives' here under consideration.

The omission of the paragraph both in the London and Dublin editions therefore seems to me to be due to a later copyist or editor. It is restored to its proper place here.

20	20	Life	Life Time F, M
	22	to whom	on whom F, M
		Peerage	the Peerage F, M
	27	pernicious	dangerous *a*
	29	these	this *a*
	31	seldome	very seldom F
	5*f.b.*	Peers: That	Peers; that *a*, M
	3*f.b.*	and People	and the People F
		is of	is F, M
	2*f.b.*	Another	the other F, M
last l.		into	in M
21	12	of	to F, M
	14	is	is well *a*; was F, M
	15	*Junta* Lords (As they were then called)	Junta Lords *a*; Juncto Lords (as they were then called) F, M
		are	were F, M (*Errata*)
	21	*Great Man *It was to the Ld Treasurer himself	Great Man *a*; *Add. note in* F Robert Harley, then Lord High Treasurer. Created Baron of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford, Earl of the City of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer, May 20, 1711, the 10th of Queen Anne
	8*f.b.*	short even	short *a*
	7*f.b.*	did so much as imagine	did imagine F
22	11	Particulars of the Negociation	Negotiations F
	13	were then	were F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
22	16	too much	much F, M
		It is	'Tis *a*
	17	Consideration	the Consideration F, M
	18	*one of his Creatures	one of his Creatures *a*
		*Craigs, father to the Secretary	*Note in* F *adds after* Secretary: of State to King George I
	23	against	towards *a*
	27	would indeed	indeed, would F
	28	Doubt	Doubts *a*
	8*f.b.*	of	of a F
	3*f.b.*	upon	at F
23	6	Animadversion	Animadversions F, M
	13	becomes	became F, M
	15	Man	Gentleman *a*
		to	in F, M
	17	hath	has M
	19	reacheth	reaches *a*, M
	20	that of his	his F
		forms and calculates Maxims of	forms and cultivates Matters of M
			formeth and cultivateth Matters of the F
	23	entire	full (*changed to*) great *a*
		hath fully	hath *a*
	24	them	them all *a*
	8*f.b.*	that he	he F, M
	7*f.b.*	Power	Powers F, M
	5*f.b.*	Party here	Party F, M
	2*f.b.*	as long	as well F; as M
last l.		a Treaty	the Treaty F
24	6	although	though *a*
		Crown	Crown of England F, M
	11	appears	appeareth F, M
	13	the	of the F, M
	14	and	and to F, M
	15	due even	even due F, M
	17	securer	more secure F
	18	then conceived some hope, that His Electoral Highness might have possibly been	very good reason to believe that His Electoral Highness was altogether *a*
			possibly have been M
	23	of Mr. Secretary St. John	from Mr. St. *John* F
	25	consists	consisted F
	29	a few Days after	in a few days F; a few Days M
	7*f.b.*	Fifth of	Fifth Day of F, M
	4*f.b.*	by	with F, M
25	1	had as long been formed	formed *a*; had as long been formed here F, M
	2	Leaders here	Leaders F, M
	3	*Hanover*	*Hanoverian* F

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
25	6	Mr. St. John soon after by her Majesty's Commands	by her Majesty's Commands Mr. St. *John* soon after F, M
	14	offers	offereth F
	15	has	hath F
	5*f.b.*	and the War go on	and that the War should go on F
		Ministers	Ministry F, M
26	1	untill	till *a*
	3	that Offer	the offer F, M
	6	for themselves	to themselves F, M
	9	Thousand	Thousand men F, M
	16	upon	on F, M
	18	*Marlborough*	M – rlb – h *a*
	24	sometimes	some time M
	25	hath so far extinguished all Pity and Remorse that	hath extinguished all the Seeds of Pity and Remorse so that *a*
			hath so far extinguished Pity and Remorse, that F, M
	29	for War	of War *a*
		said he	said that he F
	8*f.b.*	not to be moved. Wherefore	and not to be moved. And *a*
			not to be moved; therefore F, M
	last l.	Night, and in several Parts of the Town. A Crew	Night: And in several Parts of the Town, a Crew F, M
27	2–3	exceeding	exceeded F, M
	4	that	who *a*
	7	soon put	put F
	15	who was	who were F
	16	past	beyond F
		other Papers	Papers F, M
	17	the defeated Party	that Party *a*
	26	as it related	as related F
	27	both at	at F
	7*f.b.*	least Esteem	the least Esteem F
	last l.	a War . . . a Day	the War . . . the Day F; a war . . . the day M
28	1		
	18	in this	of this F, M
	25–26	Duke is not in his own Nature	Duke, in his own Nature, is not F, M
	28	he rather	rather *a*
	29	if they had	had they *a*
	31	to place	to have placed F, M
	7*f.b.*	and Peace	Peace F, M
	5*f.b.*	affirmed	asserted F, M
29	2	in with	into F
	7	prodigious	immense *a*
	8–9	Fears, (I mean onely in his Politicall capacity) of which he is seldom unprovided; And this Infirmity	Fears, of which he is seldom unprovided; being in his Nature the most Timorous Person alive; And this Infirmity *a*
			Fears, of which he is seldom

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
			unprovided, (I mean only in his political Capacity) and his Infirmity F, M
29	11	have rendred	rendred *a*
		ipsique	*sibiq. a*
	27	Queen, or	Queen and F
	28	Consults	consulted F
30	6	all Greatness	Greatness F, M
	7	upon	on F
	9	although	though *a*
	12	beyond	beyond all F, M
	16	Member	a Member F, M
	19	had little or no	had no *a*
	21	found unable	unable F
		BOOK II	
31	2	second Day	Second *a*
	6	Number	Numbers F, M
	18	and had	had F, M
		their Instructions	her Instructions F, M
	20	all Powers in	All in *a*
	22	Her Majesty	She F, M
	23	Terms	Conditions F, M
	7*f.b.*	a day	that a day F, M
	2*f.b.*	that her	her *a*
32	16–17	For, when . . . Demands, they	for then . . . Demands. They F, M
	29–30	long unsuccessful	long and unsuccessful F, M
	5*f.b.*	his Master's	the Prince's *a*
33	1	assured the Pensioner . . . bid Him	assured them . . . bid them *a*
	21	Britain (which	Britain (whom *a*
	24	Proceeding	Proceedings F, M
	29–30	Mr. Horatio Walpole, Secretary	the Secretary *a*
34	7	Occasion	Occasions F, M
	17	although	though *a*
34	21	Monarch	Prince *a*, F, M
last l.		In the mean time	Mean time *a*
35	2–3	perhaps desired	desired *a*
	14	these	those F, M
	20	December following. When	December following, when F, M
	22	Abbot	Abbé F, M
	27	previously be	be previously F, M
36	1	the Second	a second F, M
	6	Proposition	Propositions F, M
	8	the water	of the water F, M
	18	to be fully	fully F, M
	21	Inclinations	Inclination F, M
	24	appears	appeareth F
	25	Overtures	Overture F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
36	7*f.b.*	now gives farther	gives yet farther *a*; giveth F
		Proofs	Proof F
	6*f.b.*	always	hath always *a*
37	2	King offers to enter on	he offers to enter into F, M
	4	English	*English* Nation F, M
	5	the Ports	Ports F, M
	7	will consent	will agree *a*
	23	shall immediately be	shall be immediately F, M
	30	Treat a	treat of a F
	2*f.b.*	and at	at F, M
38	1	The Lord	My Lord *a*
		Raby	Raby, now Earl of Strafford F, M
	6	the Secret	that the Secret F, M
	15	and States	and the States F, M
	16	as little	a little F
	17	should on the part of Britain	on the part of Britain should, F, M
	26	those	these F, M
	2*f.b.*	the Lord	My Lord *a*
39	6	The French Proposal	The proposal M
	18	That, although the endeavour	That, however the *a* endeavoured F, M
	21	Method by which Her	Method Her *a*
	22	they (the States)	the States F, M
	24	Jealousies	Jealousy F
	26	Justice	Justness F, M
40	19	at Gertruydenburg	in Gertruydenburg F, M
	24	that Crown	the Crown F
	26	the greater	greater F
	29	untill	till *a*
	6*f.b.*	though	although F
	3*f.b.*	violent	violently M
	2*f.b.*	leaving	having F, M
41	3 ,	Petcum	Petecum F, M
	7	that the States	the States *a*
	16	upon	on F, M
	24	early and frequent	frequent and early F, M
	25	Dispositions in	Disposition of F, M
	30	till	until F
	7*f.b.*	upon	on *a*, F, M
	4*f.b.*	used by France	of France F, M
	3*f.b.*	but young	young F, M
42	2	one house of Parliament	both Houses *a*; one House of Parliament F, M
	16	entertaining that	entertaining of that F, M
	18	untill ours were	till ours was *a*, F; till ours were M
	22	proceeding to a General Treaty, without pretending to	proceeding to F
	24	Advantages	Advantage F

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
42	29	the Crowns	the two Crowns F, M
	7*f.b.*	be disposed	is disposed *a*
	6*f.b.*	that the	but the *a*
	2*f.b.*	shall be formed likewise	likewise shall be formed F, M
43	4	Demains	Dominions F, M
	11	these Kingdoms	the Kingdoms F, M
	20	that the	the F, M
	24	granted, or which	granted, and which F, M
44	1	untill they be	till they are *a*; until they are F, M
	5	Clamour of their	Clamours of the F, M
	6	the States	the *Dutch* F, M
	16	Civilities	Civility F, M
	17	Proceeding	Method *a*
	18	by Intervention	by the Intervention F, M
	27	He said, his Intention was	That, the King's Intention is *a*
	28	Parties concerned	Parties F, M
45	2	for a Barrier to	for a Barrier for *a*; as a Barrier to F
	3	engages	engageth F
	13	those	these F, M
	16	consents	consenteth F
	22	treat the Peace	treat of Peace F, M
	24	our hands	their Hands F, M (*Errata*)
	30	Ours	their's F
	2*f.b.*	had	hath *a*
last l.		Intentions	Intention F, M
46	10	all Endeavours	all his Endeavours F, M
	15	although	though *a*
	18	their	the F, M
	19	or perhaps would rather wish that	or who perhaps would rather *a*
	21	People who were likely	People more likely F, M
	23	Mr. Prior's Journey	Mr. Prior F, M
	3*f.b.*	Ministers	Minister F, M
47	12	plain that France	plain, France F, M
	14	were signed	was signed F, M
	21	require	demand *a*
	24	Articles, which M. Mesnager having transmitted to	Articles; to which M. Mesnager, having transmitted them to F, M
	7*f.b.*	setts	setteth F
last l.		runs	runneth F
48	2	untill	till *a*
	8	hath	has *a*
	29	or of any	or any F, M
49	5	them in the	them on the F, M
	6	till	until F
	21	insisted	insist *a*
		fishing for Codd	fishing for —— *a* (*Marginal note by* Swift: Morue Qu?)

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
49	23–24	Conditions which . . . consented to allow	Conditions to which . . . consented to agree *a*
	29	her own Kingdoms	her Kingdoms F, M
50	2	the following Transcript.	
		This is printed from the text in Faulkner. In the MS. there is only the following note:	
		Here follows a Translation of the Preliminary Articles from France	
51	20	compares	compareth F
	22	have censured	censured F
52	1–2	betraying the Dutch.	*Here follows another sentence in the original MS., which Swift has carefully erased:* But, not to disturb an Historical Relation with Disputes, I shall at the end of this Treatise justify the Conduct of Her Majesty and those she employ'd in the whole Proceeding toward a Peace.
	22	whereupon	whereon M
53	12	Concessions	Concession F, M
	20	farther	further F, M
	29	that the Queen	the Queen *a*, F, M
54	2	Advantages	Advantage F, M
	7	used	taken F, M
	16	Apprehensions	Apprehension F, M
	8*f.b.*	accept a Peace	accept of Peace F, M
	7*f.b.*	what were formerly	what was formerly F, M
	4*f.b.*	the Confederates	her Allies *a*
55	6	first	former *a*
	8	would to the last continue	would continue F, M
last l.		For	Upon *a*
56	17	Divisions	Division F, M
	19	opened	open F, M
57	4	till the	until F
	14	Although Prince Eugene	though Buys *a*
	23	please	pleased F, M
58	29	had said	said F, M
	8*f.b.*	odious in	odious to F, M
	7*f.b.*	although	though *a*
	2*f.b.*	detaching a	detaching of a F
59	11	by Apprehensions of	by the Apprehension of F, M
	22	these or the	these and the F, M
60	1	those Powers	these Powers F, M
	11	However, even These	However, those F, M
	13	having at length agreed	having agreed *a*
	26	untill	till *a*
	6*f.b.*	writt	wrote F, M
	2*f.b.*	D'Uxelles	D'Auxelles *a*
61	16	Ministers here had	Ministers had *a*
	18	between the Queen	between the Emperor, the Queen F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
61	22	Prejudice F, M	Prejudices (*in MS.*)
	8*f.b.*	an equal	equal F, M
	last l.	Treaty of Barrier	Barrier F, M
62	11	writt	wrote, F, M
	15	all the Towns that	all that *a*
	17	Possession	Hands F, M
	20	whatever is	what is F, M
	25	these Points	those Points F, M
	2*f.b.*	Abbé de Polignac	Abbé *Polignac* F, M
63	4	without Exception granted.	with Expedition granted F, M
	22	farther Progress	further Progress F, M
	23	I resume	I again resume *a*
		History.	History. I shall therefore now return to the other Parts of the Subject I proposed to handle. *a*

BOOK III

64	3	strictly to enquire	to enquire strictly *a*, F, M
	14	Convention for	Convention made for *a*
	19	It had been stipulated	It was stipulated *a*
	20	those Three	these Three F
	2*f.b.*	into a Report	in a Report F, M
65	1–22	The Commons began their Examination . . . Another Part of this Report concerned the Duke of Marlborough, who had	It appeared that the Duke of Marlborough had *a*
	18	at speaking	of speaking F, M
	20	and must excuse	The Reader must excuse F, M
	4*f.b.*	the Souldier suffered at least Fourfold	the Soldiers at least suffered Four-fold F, M
66	8	King's Order	King's Orders F, M
	13–14	it ever appeared	it appeared F, M
		Deduction	Deduction of it F, M
	15	concealed all that time from	so long concealed from *a*
		of the Parliament	of Parliament F, M
	21	Secret Service	secret Services F, M
	26	by Computation	on Computation F, M
	28–29	taking several	taking of several F
67	5	take Receipts	take a Receipt F, M
		Foreign Troops.	Foreign Troops. This Expedient wholly out of Form, as well as Illegal, was contrived *a*
		(N.B. *The MS. breaks off here, and a space of almost half a page is left blank as if Swift had intended to add to this paragraph.*)	
	25	farther Punishment	further Punishment F, M
68	2	That National	That the National F, M
	4	the last Revolution under the Prince of Orange.	the Revolution *a*
		It is	'Tis *a*

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
68	11	and for borrowing Money which they never paid	and have borrowed Money which they have not been able, or willing to pay *a*
	13	be then understood	then be understood F, M
	26	Security	Securities F
	27	which prevailed	that prevailed *a*
	2*f.b.*	by the surest	by surest F, M
69	11	when I mentioned	when any body mentioned *a*
	14	in a Commonwealth	for a Commonwealth *a*
	18	ariseth	arises *a*
	5*f.b.*	vast Wealth	immense Wealth *a*
70	22	sometimes (to speak in the Merchant's Phrase)	sometimes at *a*
	6*f.b.*	and to be	to be F, M
	4*f.b.*	continued to	continued till F, M
71	4	satisfied	easily satisfied *a*
	9	although	though *a*
		Interest	Interests F, M
	17	that it could	it would *a*
	22	a * Person (*Swift's marginal note:* Sr John Blunt)	
	27	striking Tallies	striking the Tallies F
	3*f.b.*	is nothing	is still nothing F
72	1	delivered out in	delivered in F, M
	6–7	about Five Years	above Five Years F
	8	payable after the	payable for the F
	13	the Funds	the Sums F, M
	15	no immediate Provision	no Provision F
	19	Midsummer 1712 last	Midsummer last *a*
	21	produces	produceth F
	28	and were	who were *a*
	3*f.b.*	a Debt upon the Navy of ( ) Millions	

(N.B. In the MS. there is a space left before 'Millions' for a number to be inserted. But this was never done and the sentence was so printed in F and M at first. Faulkner cancelled the leaf, in order to complete the phrase by inserting the word 'several'. In the copy I am using the corrected pages are printed at the end on the final leaf X4.)

73	1	this Incumbrance	that Incumbrance *a*
	2	there were	there was *a*
	8–9	lost severall Millions	lost Millions *a*
	11	that Party.	that Party. Exchequer Bills *a*

(N.B. In the MS. there is space left here for a paragraph on the subject of Exchequer Bills, but the words are deleted and the space marked to indicate that no insertion is to be made.)

	15	* the present Treasurer * Mr. Harley—*a marginal note in Swift's hand, but omitted in both printed texts.*	
	16	afterward	afterwards F, M
	27	hath	has *a*
	7–6*f.b.*	offers . . . decides	offereth . . . decideth F

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
73	5*f.b.*	is therefore very seldom at	is therefore never at *a* therefore is seldom at F, M
	last l.	Avarice, Cruelty	Cruelty, Avarice F, M
74	2–3	I altogether disapprove and do not	I do not *a*
	4	other Man's Character.	other Men, nor can well account for the Reason. *a* other Men, neither do I think it proper to account for the Reason. (*First correction by Swift, afterwards deleted.*)
	5	although	though *a*
	6	although	though *a*
	15	hath	has *a*
	22	exorbitant	immense *a*
		hath been	is *a*
	24	a Peace	Peace F, M
	26	Oppositions	Opposition F, M
	6*f.b.*	seems	seemeth F
	4*f.b.*	*appears*	appeareth F
75	4	justifyed	altogether justifyed *a*
	5	loseth	loses *a*
	7	hath	has *a*
	15	that Article	this Article *a*
	18	renders	rendereth F
		(*Deleted in MS. but with a broad firm line unlike Swift's usual thin loops or repeated strokes. As the sentence is in both printed versions, it is likely that its omission was not intended by Swift.*)	Yet some Allowance may perhaps be given to this Failing, which is one of the Greatest he has; since He cannot be more careless of other men's Fortunes, than he is of his Own. *a*, F, M
	23	Age	Age of the World *a*
	25	so great a Share	a greater Share F; a great Share M
	5*f.b.*	above described	already described F, M
	3*f.b.*	of the Exchequer-Bills	of Exchequer Bills F, M
	2*f.b.*	which to the great Discouragement . . . any Discount	
–76	5	(N.B. This passage is added to the text in Swift's own hand, filling the blank space left at the lower part of this page. It is carefully copied in a beautiful script and this addition may well have been made earlier than the corrections, for example, on the following page.)	
	4	five and fourty	Forty-five F, M
	9–11	to which the Earl of Godolphin had given too much way, possibly by neglect, for, I think he cannot be accused of Corruption.	to which the Earl of Godolphin had given too much way, whether through Ignorance, Connivance or Neglect. *a*
		(N.B. The whole of this passage was written in by Swift to complete the paragraph, copied fair like the insertion on the former page. Then, evidently later, the last six words have been deleted, and the final	

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
		correction added in the space below. A footnote in F, M to this last phrase only, **Added in the Author's own Hand Writing*, shows that the printers must have used a later copy than the Windsor MS. in which these earlier changes had been recopied by the amanuensis.)	
76	12	the new Treasurer's chief	his chief *a*
	14	to above Ten	to ten F, M
	17	Ministries	Ministers F, M
	20	Ordnance, and Transport, and of the Army	Ordinance, and Transport of the Army, F, M
77	1	Council	Cabinet *a*
	2	The Circumstances*	
		Swift's marginal note at foot of page: See the particular Account in the Examiner. F, M	
	6	Overture	Overtures F, M
		vast	immense *a*
	13	this Trade	of this Trade F
	14–15	had been one Principal End we aimed at	was a Principal End we proposed *a*
	17	their first Discount	their Discount F, M
	18	this great Work	this Work F, M
	19	have been since erected	were since erected *a*
	22	although	though *a*
	27	least to press	less to press F, M
	29	at least hath	hath F, M
	8*f.b.*	1712, and printed at the End of this History	1712 F, M
	4*f.b.*	It might	It might perhaps *a*
78	3	Methods	Measures F, M
	4	This	And this *a*
	13	Blood before all other Subjects, carryes	Blood, carries F, M
	15	Electress Sophia	Princess Sophia F, M
	17	precedes	precedeth F
		doth	does *a*
	20	Heirs to	Heirs of F, M
		appears	appeareth F, M
	5*f.b.*	those Powers	these Powers F, M
	3*f.b.*	Writers	Authors *a*
	last l.	could no otherwise be	could be no otherwise F, M
79	4	through	throughout
	22–23	Service thereof	Service of the War *a*
	26	Deficiency	Deficiencies F, M
	8*f.b.* –5*f.b.*	Upon these Resolutions, (By one of which . . . and Kingdom) and upon some	Upon these Resolutions, and some *a*
80	1	Sir Thomas Hanmer	*Fn. in* F: Chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, *Feb.* 18, O.S. 1713. He was a fine Orator, a great Scholar; corrected the Text of *Shakespeare*'s Works, writ Notes in

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
			the Plays, printed a most elegant Edition in Quarto, with Cutts, by Subscription, at *Oxford*, and not one Set more printed than was subscribed for, which makes this Edition bear a very high Price.
80	1	written	writt *a*
	8	although	though *a*
	10–11	all Debates	all the Debates F
	12	conceived	conceive F
		well be omitted	be well omitted F, M
		(Here is to follow the Representation at length)	(Here follows the Representation at length) *a*

By virtue of an order of the House of Commons, Samuel Keble and Henry Clements were appointed to print the Representation, which appeared as No. 56 (pp. 121–26) of the Votes of the House of Commons for Tuesday, March 4, 1711–12: H.t.: The HUMBLE / REPRESENTATION / OF THE / House of Commons / TO THE / QUEEN. / With HER MAJESTY'S *Most Gracious* / *Answer thereunto.* / — / *LONDON*: Printed for *Samuel Keble* at the *Turk's Head* in / *Fleetstreet*, and *Henry Clements* at the *Half-Moon* in S. *Paul*'s Church-yard. 1711. (*Bod.* 22772.d.5.)

It was reprinted in 1712 in London and also by James Watson in Edinburgh and it was reprinted also in 1715 by John Morphew, together with other Speeches and Addresses, 'all relating to the Peace'.

The text as printed in Faulkner has been collated with the 1711 edition and the following variants have been corrected in the present text:

		Present Text	*Variants in Faulkner*
80	22	Confederacy. We	Confederacy; we
81	1	Circumstance	Circumstances
	3*f.b.*	*States General*; the	*States General, and the*
82	3	Traffick, under	Traffick, or under
	23	were forty-two	were forty
83	6	Debt	Debts
	16	appears	appeareth
	7*f.b.*	has	hath
	5*f.b.*	Services	Service
84	1	Service; from the same Cause Your	Service, from the same Cause. Your
	10	they nave received	they received
	21	to have been	have been
85	28	paid to him	paid him
86	9	this Undertaking	the Undertaking
	15	on their own Account	on their Account
	21	Seven	Eight
	4*f.b.*	of such a	of a
	3*f.b.*	knows	knoweth
87	11	Hundred and Forty	Hundred Forty
	7*f.b.*	arises	ariseth
88	5	and by	by

Page	Line	*Present Text*	*Variants in Faulkner*
88	6	does	doth
	11	exceeding, in Balance of which,	exceeding in Balance, of which
89	3	in which	into which
	13	are as far	are far
	9*f.b.*	War in *Spain*	War with *Spain*
90	14	appears	appeareth
	20	the Nation	this Nation
	21	hath	has
	25	farther . . . greater	further . . . great
	29	under Colour	under a Colour
91	2	as Part	as a Part
	21	Case of	Care of
	6*f.b.*	they had	they have
	3*f.b.*	revives and renders	reviveth and rendereth
92	10	has already	hath already
	13	whilst those	while those
	15	hath been in all Ages	hath in all Ages been
	26	provides	provideth
	30	of it. But	of it: But
	2*f.b.*	to that	of that
93	27	relates	relateth
	30	you. As	you, as
	31	great; and	great: And
94	3	ill-designing	ill designing

		Windsor MS. as corrected	*Variants*
	9	this	the F, M
	14	contrived	passed F, M
	15	evil	ill F, M
	20	Point	Points F, M
	29	very crudely	crudely F, M
	6*f.b.*	and Servants	or Servants M
95	10	dropt	dropped F, M
	21	some other Meaning	a deeper Meaning *a*
	30	of Members in that house, who should be allowed to possess Employments under the Crown	of Officers in the House of Commons *a* of Members who have Employments (*First correction in MS.*)
	3*f.b.*	were less	was less *a*
last l.		Or, perhaps	and perhaps F, M
96	3	Election.	Election. Neither do I believe, any Man who truly understands and loves our Constitution, will imagine that the Prerogative hath not been sufficiently humbled within Twenty Years past. *a*
	8*f.b.*	under colour of which they might upon occasion be bold enough to insult the Religion established;	which enabled them at Pleasure to affront the Religion Established, *a*

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
96	5*f.b.*	*Scotland*	North Britain *a*
97	17	deprived their Liberty	deprived of their Liberty F, M
	20	changing their Religion	changing of their Religion F, M
	23	*Scotland*	North Britain *a*
	25	antient Right	ancient Rights F, M
98	3	Misrepresentation	Misrepresentations F, M
	7	Secretary at War	Secretary of War F, M
	9	Affairs	Things F, M
	11	resigning his F, M (*Errata*)	resigning up his *a*
	28–29	Papers: A Complaint whereof being made	Papers. A Complaint being made thereof F, M
	8*f.b.*	and malicious	malicious F, M
	4*f.b.*	the emissaries	emissaries F, M
99	7	country Party	new Country-Party F, M
	10	called the High	called High F, M
	15	Change	Reformation *a*
	21	most certainly	certainly F, M
	24	entirely	were entirely F, M
		although	though *a*
	26	would	should F, M
	7*f.b.*	for deferring	for the deferring F, M
	5*f.b.*	Safety of his Country.	Safety of his Country, and the Malice of his Enemies. *a*
	4*f.b.*	this October Club	this Club *a*
100	2	might end	would end F, M
	12	from the Court	of the Court F, M
	15	the Treasurer F, M	the present Treasurer *a* (*Not corrected in MS.*)
	20	a Distrust	Distrust F, M
	23	for appointing	appointing F, M
		examine	examine into F, M
	26	were made	had been made F, M
	last l.	passing of such	passing such F, M
101	15	Party-Cause	Party-Case F, M
	16	some were personally	some very personally F, M
	17	by their Friends	by Friends F, M
	8*f.b.*	to Enquire	to examine F, M
102	4	the Example of	the Examples of F, M
	7	although	though *a*
	9	offers	offereth F
	10	So, for Instance,	For Instance F, M
	11	can easily be	can be easily F, M
	12	then have possibly	possibly then have F, M
	16	likely	like F, M
	18	Laws made since	Laws since made F, M
	19	Crown has	Crown hath F
	24	and our	and to our F, M
	last l.	Knight, marrying his eldest Daughter; and	Knight; and *a*
103	6	properly be called	be properly called F, M
	7	Crown, because	Crown, since *a*

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
103	19	Side the Case	Side of the Case F, M
	21	(N.B. Another amanuensis takes over at this point, with quite a different notion of the use of Capitals.)	
	24	concludes	concludeth F
	29	seems	seemeth F
		those Weekly	these Weekly F, M
	7–6*f.b.*	answers . . . make	answereth . . . maketh F; makes M
104	5	has since	hath since F, M
	20	wants a little	wanteth a little F
	4*f.b.*	does	doth F
	3*f.b.*	has	hath F
105	1	trusts	trusteth F
	8	Interests	Interest F, M
	14	has	hath F, M
	19	towards the Recovering	towards recovering M
	23	three Days after	three Days F, M
	7*f.b.*	It is most certain	it is certain F, M
	5*f.b.*	Suspiciousness	Suspicion F, M
106	6	Difficulty, and by	Difficulty by F, M
	9	Commencing	Commencement F, M
	14	remains	remaineth F
	15–16	under Cognizance	into their Cognizance F, M
	18	among	amongst F, M
	19	grown into	growing into F, M
	24	all kind	all kinds F, M
	8*f.b.*	Endeavour	Concern F, M
	6*f.b.*	deprived	denied F, M
107	1	These People	Those People F, M
	17	Sett	Sect F, M
	27	should be accepted	should have been F, M

BOOK IV

108	7	all Instruments	all their Instruments F, M
	–8	work, when the Parliament should meet, to	work to F, M
	9	Hanover	Hanoverian F
	18	Junta	Junto F, M
	6*f.b.*	many Advantages	advantages F, M
109	4	give up	give F, M
	16	Effect which the	Effect the F
	23	Although	Though *a*
		believed that this	believed this F, M
	8*f.b.*	Scheme	Schemes *a*, F, M
	2*f.b.*	Distress themselves	Distress they themselves F, M
110	2	such great	so many F, M
	11	Ministers	Ministry F, M
	15	excusable	excused F, M
	16	are in that	are that F, M
	27	know that the	know, the F, M
	8*f.b.*	continue	continued F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
110	7*f.b.*	carry it on	make it *a*
	2*f.b.*	everything; that we had promised and would	every Thing that we had promised: That we would F, M
111	3	Britain	Great -Britain F
	6	come every day	came F, M
	7	at present	now F, M
	11	undertaking, and of which I have spoken before	undertaking *a*
	22	although	though *a*
	27	But all	all this *a*
	29	Foreign	both foreign F, M
	2*f.b.*	on	upon F, M
112	2	of a Treaty	of Treaty F, M
	4	Britain	*Great-Britain* F
	12	States, whom they should meet at Utrecht, and who	States, who F, M
113	3	As to	As F, M
	7	of Prefecture	of the Prefecture F, M
	17	till	until F, M
	6*f.b.*	Bethune, Aire	Bethune Avie, F, M
	2*f.b.*	allotted	allowed F, M
114	10	*Pragela*, the Land	*Pregata*, and the Land F, M
	11	Genevre	*Genevere* F
	15	Gand	Ghent F, M
	21	empowers	impowereth F; impowers M
	30	and Heirs	and his Heirs F, M
	last l.	the most Christian King	France *a*
115	7	in the	on the F, M
	16	concert	consult F, M
	25	the settling	settling F
	27	than by France	than France *a*
116	9	parted in Terms of the	parted with the F, M
	17	know that Her	know Her F, M
	7*f.b.*	of a general	of general F, M
	5*f.b.*	particular Interests	Interests *a*
	last l.	of the Nation	of that Nation F, M
117	7	fixing a	fixing that *a*
		betwixt	between F, M
	15	in the	at the F, M
	16	the Bishop of Bristow, Lord	the Lord *a* (Bristol F, M)
	19	in the following Words:	in Words to the following Effect F, M
	9–8*f.b.*	upon the Points . . . in	in the Points . . . upon F
	last l.	each give	give each F
118	14	had likewise great	had great F, M
	22	Plenipotentiaries	Plenipotentiary's Favour F, M
	28	so much desired	desired F, M
	30	would consent	could consent F, M
	6*f.b.*	having received notice	having notice F, M
119	2	Votes of the	Votes in the F, M
	17–18	Mr. Thomas Harley	Mr. Harley *a*

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
119	19	in Her Mind	of Her Mind F, M
	21–22	stop'd at the Hague in his Way to Utrecht, . . . Pensioner	stopped in his way to *Utrecht* at the *Hague*, . . . Pensionary F, M
	25–26	must be chiefly	must chiefly be F, M
120	9	That their Lordships	that they F, M
	22	and West-Indies	and the West-Indies F, M
last l.		de Torcy	of Torcy F, M
121	3	to a secure	to secure F, M
	9	to their Plenipotentiaries	to her Plenipotentiaries F
	10	offer the	offer to the F, M
	15	Cortes	Courts F, M
	22	of a Peace	of Peace F, M
	25	Mean time	In the meantime F, M
		Negociations	Negotiation F, M
	30	than partaking	than the Partaking F, M
	8*f.b.*	no way	no ways F, M
	5*f.b.*	Months, which indeed from the bad state of her Majesty's health, was reasonable enough to expect. The	Months. The *a* reasonable to expect F, M
122	1	till	until F, M
	9	ruinous War	War F, M
	10	where	whither F, M
	13	of engaging	in engaging F, M
	14	upon very	upon a very F, M
	16	Dispositions	Disposition F, M
	24	State it was in	State in which it was F, M
	25	accept any	accept of any F, M
	–26	those Words	these Words F, M
	26	Article	Articles F
	5*f.b.*	Gand	Ghent F, M
		she were sensible	she was sensible *a*
123	4	would endeavour to bring	would bring *a*
	8	have any Share	have share F, M
	17	would not	could not F, M (*Errata*)
	18	of a General	of general F, M
	21	the Contract	a Contract F, M
	23	farther Instructions	further F, M
	24	Thither	There *a*
	25	with the same	the same F, M
		Powers	Power F, M
	29	Pensioner	Pensionary F, M
	8*f.b.*	of Holland	in Holland F, M
	6*f.b.*	in the several	in several F, M
124	5	ejected	dejected F, M
	13	among all the	between the F, M
	19	Letters from Vienna intercepted here	Letters, intercepted here, from Vienna, F, M
125	2	against several	again several F
	3	till this	until this F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
125	15	Expedient	Expedients F, M
	17	were immediately sent	were sent F, M
	18	till he	until he F, M
		farther	further F, M
	29	it is needless	is needless F, M
	8*f.b.*	Till	Until F, M
	4*f.b.*	of Refusal	of a Refusal F, M
126	3	the Envy	the Enmity F, M (*Errata*)
	5	among every Quality	with every other Quality F, M
		[Underlined in MS. with marginal note: *Q.*]	
	8	this Commission	his Commission F, M
		and the	and all the F
	11	joined with all	all joined by F, M
	17	Marêchal Villars	Marechal de Villars F, M
		from Mons.	by Mons. F, M
	19	shewed	that shewed *a*
	26	till he	until he F, M
	6*f.b.*	they would	that they would F, M
	4*f.b.*	Order of the	Order from the F, M
	2*f.b.*	desiring among	desiring him, among F, M
127	16	Conjuncture	Occasion F, M
	17	any Exigency	an Exigency F, M
		depend upon the	depend on the F, M
	19	tempted the Danes	the Danes tempted *a*
	26	Consequences	Consequence F, M
	3*f.b.*	they told	they had told F, M
128	6	or a Siege	or Siege F, M
		Communication they	Communication, which they F, M
	14	though	although F, M
	30	Opinion the	Opinion that the F, M
129	4	Interests	Interest F, M
	5–4*f.b.*	did . . . lay	laid F, M
	2*f.b.*	having been	being F, M
130	2	insert	insert it F, M
		although	though *a*
		[Here must follow the Speech]	[Here follows the Speech]

The Queen's Speech was included in the Votes of the House of Commons (No. 133) for Friday, June 6, 1712. It was separately printed with the title: Her Majesties / MOST GRACIOUS / SPEECH / To both HOUSES of / PARLIAMENT, / On *Friday* the Sixth Day of *June*, 1712. / (Rule) / (Royal Arms) / (Double Rule) / *LONDON*, / Printed by *John Baskett*, Printer to the Queens most / Excellent Majesty, And the Assigns of *Thomas New- / comb*, and *Henry Hills*, deceas'd. MDCCXII.

The text as printed in Faulkner has been collated with the above, and the following variants have been corrected in the present text:

		Present Text	*Variants in Faulkner*
130	17	has	hath
	18	Interest	Interests
	27	has	hath

Page	Line	*Present Text*	*Variants in Faulkner*
130	7*f.b.*	preventing of such	preventing such
	6*f.b.*	Treaty. Former	Treaty; former
	2*f.b.*	is	was
131	16	shall	should
	21	executes	executeth
	9*f.b.*	has	hath
132	2	of that	of the
	10	Accadie. (*end of paragraph*)	*Accadie*: The
	20	or which may	or may
	24	entitling	intitling
	4*f.b.*	offers	offereth
133	15	entire	intire
	25	has	hath
	2*f.b.*	further	farther
last l.		has	hath
134	25	of this	of the
		entire	intire

		Windsor MS. as corrected	*Variants*
135	6	found that some	found some F, M
	10	expected	expecting *a*
	11	the Duke	he F, M
	19	proposed	had proposed F, M
	21	prolonged to Three	prolonged three F, M
	29	be delivered immediately	be immediately delivered F, M
	30	endeavoured at the same time	at the same time endeavoured F, M
	5*f.b.*	to act	to have acted F, M
136	3	the Design of seizing even	a Design even of seizing F, M
	8	Rules of Treating	Rules of Treaty F, M
	29	British Majesty	*Britannick* Majesty F, M
	7*f.b.*	Rabble	People F, M
	6–5*f.b.*	days before very	Days very F
137	6	appears	appeareth F
	24	ought to be rather	ought rather to be F, M
	26	communicated in form	communicated F, M
	3*f.b.*	the Town	that Town *a*
		from his Court	from Court *a*
last l.		in executing	in the executing F, M
138	11	freely signifyed	fairly signified F, M
	14	appeared	appearing F, M
	22	he therefore opposed	therefore he opposed F, M
	24	these Difficulties	those Difficulties F, M
	2*f.b.*	Negociations	Negotiation F, M
last l.		or no	or not F, M
139	2	upon themselves	on themselves F, M
	5	proper for	proper to F, M
	12	Reasons of	Reasons for F, M
	20	and that in	and, in F, M
	21	Arrears	Arrear F, M
	23	embark at . . ., in	embark, in F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
139	27	immediately gave notice	gave notice immediately F, M
	8*f.b.*	yet willing	willing yet F, M
		was past	had passed F, M
140	5	of a generall Peace	of a Peace *a*
	8	Interests	Interest F, M
	11	Surrendry	Surrender, F, M
	19	in answer	an Answer F, M
	20	having not been	having been not F, M
	25	told him this	told this F, M
	7*f.b.*	although	though *a*
141	4–5	Count Wales's Dragoons	Count *Wallis*'s Dragoons F, M
	21	brave British	British F, M
	27	retiring	returning F, M
	28	some important Service	something important F, M
	4*f.b.*	*Gand*	Ghent F, M
142	2	who refused	who had refused F, M
	3	*Hompesch*	Hempseck F, M
	9	a few Days after of Bruges	of Bruyes, a few days after F, M
	15–16	at least, if not Arbiter of the Peace. He knew very well, that	at least: That F, M
	20	a degree	some degree *a*
	21	towards her Majesty	to her Majesty F, M
	30	upon any	on any F, M
143	4	till certain	until certain F
	8	had many plausible	had very plausible *a*
	15	these Difficulties	those Difficulties F, M
	22	Abbot's	Abbe's F, M
	3*f.b.*	Opinions	Opinion F, M
	last l.	Consequence F, M	Consequences (*misprint in MS.*)
144	3	used	employed *a*
	6	Interests	Interest F, M
	18–19	Highness if they were truly represented in that Memorial, to differ not a little from	Highness, to be very different from *a*
	21	to assure him	to insinuate to him *a*
	23	Affection to His	Affection for his F, M
	6*f.b.*	must yet become	must become F, M
	last l.	had hitherto been	had been hitherto F, M
		the Friend of	a Friend to F, M
145	1	his Minister	his Ministers F, M
	5	those Powers would	those would F, M
	10	be wondred how	be wondered at, how F, M
	11	than yet to offer no more; [These words underlined in the MS., with a *Q* in the margin.]	
	18	could possibly	might possibly F, M
	9*f.b.*	upon her	upon herself F, M
	7*f.b.*	Her Majesty	the Queen *a*
	last l.	been the more	been more F, M
146	3	seems	seemeth F
	9	would be certainly	would certainly be F, M
	10	of a Peace	of Peace F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
146	16	against such	of such F, M
	18	although	though *a*
147	5	certain, that the	certain, the F, M
	17	Confidence His	Confidence that his F, M
	27	whatsoever	whatever F, M
	6*f.b.*	should come at any time	should at any Time come
	3*f.b.*	till those	until those F, M
148	9	each other	one another F, M
	13	Interest	Interests F, M
	24	setting	settling F, M
	28–29	or till the	or until the F, M
	2*f.b.*	as much	so much F, M
		for those of	for these of F, M
149	1	particularly related to	particularly concerned *a*
	2	Ultimatum	Ultimation F, M
	4	to a disadvantageous Peace,	to a Peace *a*
	22	some time	several weeks *a*
	25	should even	should ever F, M
	7*f.b.*	they had formerly	they formerly F, M
	4*f.b.*	unactive State	inactive State F, M
150	7	to the Proximity	to Proximity F, M
		humane	human F, M
	8	plain that the	plain, the F, M
	14	King of Spain, Charles the Second	King, Charles II M
	25	that Proximity	a Proximity F, M
		gives	giveth F
	28	of the Dauphin's Title to	to the Title of F, M
	7*f.b.*	humane Institution	human Institution F, M
	2*f.b.*	follows	followeth F
last l.		not renounced	renounced F, M
151	14	I take to	I take it to F, M
	15	necessary to the	necessary, for the F, M
	18	so great	such F, M
	20	executes	executeth F
	27	in few	in a few F, M
	8*f.b.*	lives	liveth F
	7*f.b.*	Influence	Interest F, M
	6*f.b.*	by vertue of this	by this F, M
	2*f.b.*	encreased	were raised F, M
152	7	although	though *a*
	11	many Advantages	any Advantages F, M
	18	weak to	weak as to F, M
	20	For when	When *a*
	21	*Gand*	Ghent F, M
	26	talked of or believed	talked of F, M
	28	what a Rumour	what Rumour F, M
	29	as if	That *a*
	30	was in a desperate	were in a bad F, M
	8*f.b.*	as this	as these F, M
		or whether	whether F, M
	7*f.b.*	or lastly whether	whether F, M

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
152	4*f.b.*	Whatever was	or whatever else F, M
	3*f.b.*	rejected	refused F, M
		nor shewed	and made not F, M
	last l.	till the	until the F, M
153	9	that Prince Eugene their	that their *a*
	11	directed therefore	therefore directed F, M
	27	at the	of the F, M
154	1	Resolution	Resolutions F, M
	24	Her Ally	her Allies F
	27	not otherwise be	not be otherwise F, M
155	2–3	She had delivered	she delivered F, M
	16	Spot; and	Spot, although he himself received a Wound F, M
		weakened with	weakened by F, M
	18	who was Second	the Second *a*
	19	after a few Minutes	a few Minutes after F, M
	21	although	though *a*
	23	*England* . . . last	England in last May 15 F
156	2	till he	until he F, M
	22	till the Peace	until the Peace F, M
	25	to finish the Peace	to finish F, M
	27	their Tariff	the Tariff F, M
	3*f.b.*	to their	to all their F, M
157	1	Francs	Florins F, M
	2	among the Jews	amongst the Jews F, M
	5	new Project for a Treaty of	new Treaty for a F, M
	22–23	private and frequent	frequent F, M
	27	and in	and to be in F, M
	2*f.b.*	and States	and the States F, M
158	22	Support and Assistance	Assistance and Support F, M
	23–24	who either would	who would either F, M
	29	or to reject	or reject *a*, F, M
	3*f.b.*	till that Person	until that Person F
	2*f.b.*	although	though *a*; and although F
159	10	although somewhat	though somewhat *a*
	13	the Genius more	more the Genius F, M
	23–24	Both very little to the Advantage of	both of very Advantage to F, M
	28	their superior Abilities	their Abilities F, M
160	9	Shrewsbury.	Shrewsbury, who with the Ornaments of a most noble Birth and graceful Person is Master of the clearest Understanding, polished by Literature and Travel, cultivated by Experience, and fitted by an incomparable Address to gain the Esteem and Affection of Princes. *a*

(N.B. *This passage in the MS. is cancelled by a straight line, which in no way obliterates the text.*)

Page	Line	*Windsor MS. as corrected*	*Variants*
160	16	an Historian	a Historian F, M
	17	deserves	deserveth F, M
	19–20	any One Promise always tempering	any Promise F, M tempering F, M
	25	Humour	Humour, as well as useful to Her Majesty by his Knowledge and Dexterity in the Management of Affairs *a*
	6*f.b.*	till which	until which F, M
	last l.	writt . . . to the Queen	wrote . . . to her Majesty F, M
161	9	the other	that *a*
	14	this Point	that Point *a*
	16	till the	until the F, M
	18	till	until F, M
	21	Us	Great Britain F, M
		at Mercy	at the Mercy F, M
	29	as of settling	as settling F, M
162	4	and would never	and never would F, M
	18	could be only	Could only be F, M
	19	an able Minister	so great a Minister *a*
	23	without any Delay	without Delay F, M
	2*f.b.*	were accordingly now	were now accordingly F, M
163	4–5	her Two Plenipotentiaries	her Plenipotentiaries F, M
	4*f.b.*	would have at least	would at least have F, M
164	5	them, That if	them, if F, M
	6	an [other] unexpected Change	an unexpected Turn F, M
	12	are Avarice	is Avarice F, M
	14	But these Representations	But Representations F, M
	27	and restore those other	and to restore those F, M
	29	And was	and by the Possession of which he was F, M
	8*f.b.*	likewise refused Her	likewise objected to Her F, M
	6*f.b.*	till his	until his F, M
	3*f.b.*	upon the	on the F, M
165	12	those Allies	these Allies F, M
	14	these	those *a*, F, M
	7*f.b.*	the Bishop	the Lord Bishop F, M
166	1	and Empire	and the Empire F, M
	3	de Zinzendorf	Zinzendorf F, M
	26	the situation of his Affairs	his Situation F, M
	3*f.b.*	after Peace	after the Peace F, M
167	8	on like	on the like F, M

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